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103

211 e. 534





THE  
**BRITISH PLUTARCH,**

CONTAINING

**THE LIVES**

OF THE MOST EMINENT

DIVINES,  
PATRIOTS,  
STATESMEN,  
WARRIORS,

PHILOSOPHERS,  
POETS,  
AND  
ARTISTS,

OF

**GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,**

FROM

THE ACCESSION OF HENRY VIII. TO THE PRESENT TIME.

---

*A New Edition,*

RE-ARRANGED, AND ENRICHED WITH SEVERAL

*ADDITIONAL LIVES,*

BY THE

**REV. FRANCIS WRANGHAM, M.A. F.R.S.**

OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

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*IN SIX VOLUMES.*

**VOL. I.**

---

Triumph, my Britain! Thou hast *those* to show,  
To whom all scenes of Europe homage owe. (JONSON.)

——Τῆς ξυνησεται;  
(Æsch. 'Επλ. πρὸ Θηζ. 431.)

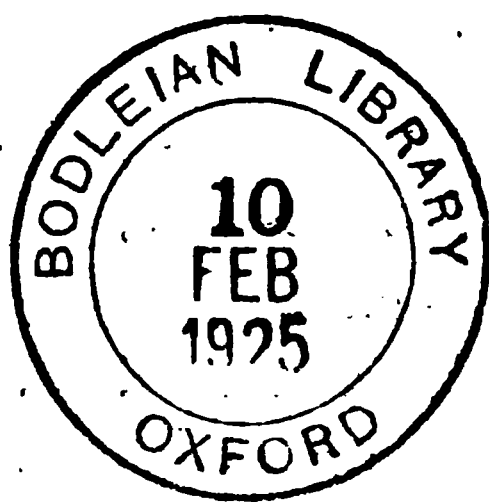
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BALDWIN, CRADOCK, AND JOY, PATERNOSTER ROW.

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**1816.**



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C. Baldwin, Printer,  
New Bridge-street, London.

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TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE,

&c. &c.

---

MY DEAR LORD,

WHEN I appeared, eight years ago, as the Editor of Langhorne's Translation of Plutarch's Lives, I readily found in our common friend Lord Milton, a patron not unworthy of the best subjects of the Chæronean Biographer. In selecting a name, upon the present occasion, to protect the Memoirs of those illustrious Sons of Britain, who have emulated the Worthies of Greece and Rome, I have experienced as little difficulty. For—without adverting more particularly to the splendid character of Sir William Petty, to whom the noblest society in the world is largely indebted for its institution—whether I consider the high academical reputation of many of my Heroes, or the display of talent, of knowledge, and of patriotism, which marked their subsequent career in the senate of their country, I am incited by the strongest resemblances to fix upon that of Henry, Marquis of Lansdowne.



Accept therefore, my dear Lord, with your accustomed indulgence, this inconsiderable offering of regard and of respect from One, who is proud to subscribe himself,

Your Lordship's most obliged

and faithful friend and servant,

FRANCIS WRANGHAM.

*Hunmanby, Dec. 1, 1816.*

# CONTENTS

## OF THE

## SIX VOLUMES.

**N. B.** The names printed in *Italics* are newly introduced into this Collection.

### VOL. I.

	Born	Died	Page
Preface.....			i
I. John Colet .....	(1466—1519)		1
II. Thomas Wolsey .....	(1471—1530)		28
III. Sir Thomas More .....	(1480—1535)		75
IV. John Fisher.....	(1459—1535)		163
V. Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex.	(1498—1540)		181
VI. Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk .....	(1473—1554)		197
VII. Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset.....	(* * *—1552)		206
VIII. John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland.....	(1502—1553)		239
IX. Hugh Latimer.....	(1475—1555)		256
X. Stephen Gardiner .....	(1488—1555)		303
XI. Thomas Cranmer.....	(1498—1556)		330
XII. <i>Sir John Cheke</i> .....	(1514—1557)		364
XIII. Reginald Pole .....	(1500—1558)		393
XIV. Roger Ascham.....	(1515—1568)		410
XV. John Jewel .....	(1522—1571)		436
XVI. John Knox .....	(1505—1572)		449
XVII. Matthew Parker .....	(1504—1575)		514
XVIII. Sir Thomas Gresham .....	(1519—1579)		535
XIX. George Buchanan .....	(1506—1582)		550

### VOL. II.

XX. <i>Sir Philip Sidney</i> .....	(1554—1586)	1
XXI. Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester.	(1532—1588)	72
XXII. Sir Francis Walsingham.....	(1536—1590)	104
XXIII. Sir Francis Drake .....	(1545—1596)	122
XXIV. Sir John Hawkins .....	(1520—1598)	138
XXV. Edmund Spenser.....	(1553—1598)	155
XXVI. William Cecil, Lord Burghley...	(1520—1598)	177
XXVII. Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex.	(1567—1601)	215
XXVIII. Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham.....	(1536—1603)	247

	Born	Died	Page
XXIX. Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset.	(1536—1608)		259
XXX. Sir Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury.	(1550—1612)		277
XXXI. William Shakspeare .....	(1564—1616)		296
XXXII. Sir Walter Raleigh .....	(1552—1618)		322
XXXIII. William Camden .....	(1551—1623)		403
XXXIV. Francis Bacon, Viscount St. Alban's	(1561—1626)		430
XXXV. George Villiers I., Duke of Buck- ingham .....	(1592—1628)		492
XXXVI. George Abbot .....	(1562—1633)		519
XXXVII. Sir Edward Coke .....	(1550—1634)		543
XXXVIII. Ben Jonson .....	(1574—1637)		575

## VOL. III.

XXXIX. Sir Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford .....	(1593—1641)	1
XL. Richard Boyle, Earl of Cork....	(1566—1643)	54
XLI. John Hampden .....	(1594—1643)	63
XLII. William Laud .....	(1573—1645)	80
XLIII. John Williams .....	(1582—1650)	137
XLIV. Inigo Jones .....	(1572—1651)	175
XLV. William Harvey .....	(1578—1657)	183
XLVI. John Selden .....	(1584—1654)	199
XLVII. James Usher .....	(1580—1655)	222
XLVIII. Oliver Cromwell .....	(1599—1658)	245
XLIX. Robert Blake .....	(1598—1657)	326
L. <i>Colonel John Hutchinson</i> .....	(1616—1664)	340
LI. George Monk, Duke of Albemarle.	(1608—1667)	369
LII. Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon.	(1608—1674)	394
LIII. John Milton .....	(1608—1674)	451

## VOL. IV.

LIV. Sir Matthew Hale .....	(1609—1676)	1
LV. Andrew Marvell .....	(1620—1678)	81
LVI. Samuel Butler .....	(1612—1680)	124
LVII. Antony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury .....	(1621—1683)	136
LVIII. Algernon Sidney .....	(1622—1683)	171
LIX. James Butler, Duke of Ormond.	(1610—1686)	214
LX. Edmund Waller .....	(1605—1687)	239
LXI. Sir William Petty .....	(1623—1687)	264
LXII. George Villiers II., Duke of Buck- ingham .....	(1627—1688)	297
LXIII. The Hon. Robert Boyle .....	(1627—1691)	324
LXIV. John Tillotson .....	(1630—1694)	380
LXV. George Savile, Marquis of Halifax.	(1630—1695)	428
LXVI. Sir William Temple .....	(1628—1698)	448
LXVII. John Dryden .....	(1631—1701)	467

## VOL. V.

	Born	Died	Page
LXVIII. John Locke .....	(1632—1704)		1
LXIX. Sir George Rooke .....	(1650—1709)		37
LXX. Sir John Holt .....	(1642—1709)		48
LXXI. Gilbert Burnet .....	(1643—1715)		64
LXXII. John Flamsteed .....	(1646—1719)		107
LXXIII. Joseph Addison .....	(1672—1719)		114
LXXIV. Matthew Prior .....	(1664—1721)		144
LXXV. John Churchill, Duke of Marl- borough .....	(1650—1722)		163
LXXVI. Sir Christopher Wren .....	(1632—1723)		191
LXXVII. Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford and Mortimer .....	(1661—1724)		218
LXXVIII. Sir Isaac Newton .....	(1642—1726)		245
LXXIX. Sir Richard Steele .....	(1676—1729)		280
LXXX. Francis Atterbury .....	(1662—1731)		306
LXXXI. Samuel Clarke .....	(1675—1729)		344
LXXXII. <i>Richard Bentley</i> .....	(1662—1742)		365
LXXXIII. Alexander Pope .....	(1688—1744)		415
LXXXIV. Jonathan Swift .....	(1667—1745)		465

## VOL. VI.

LXXXV. Sir Robert Walpole .....	(1676—1745)	1
LXXXVI. James Thomson .....	(1700—1748)	30
LXXXVII. Henry St. John, Viscount Boling- broke .....	(1678—1751)	50
LXXXVIII. <i>George Berkeley</i> .....	(1684—1753)	70
LXXXIX. Major General James Wolfe ..	(1726—1759)	104
XC. Benjamin Hoadly .....	(1676—1761)	115
XCI. Samuel Richardson .....	(1689—1761)	129
XCII. Edward Young .....	(1681—1765)	144
XCIII. John Jortin .....	(1698—1770)	165
XCIV. Thomas Gray .....	(1716—1771)	185
XCV. Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield .....	(1694—1773)	206
XCVI. Oliver Goldsmith .....	(1729—1774)	232
XCVII. William Pitt, Earl of Chatham ..	(1708—1778)	251
XCVIII. Samuel Johnson .....	(1709—1784)	301
XCIX. <i>Sir William Jones</i> .....	(1746—1794)	363
C. <i>Viscount Nelson</i> .....	(1758—1805)	425
Index .....		489

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

.....  
.....

.....  
.....

.....

.....

# CONTENTS

## OF THE

### FIRST VOLUME.

---

	Born	Died	Page
<i>Preface</i> . . . . .			i
I. <i>John Colet</i> . . . . .	(1466—1519)		1
II. <i>Thomas Wolsey</i> . . . . .	(1471—1530)		28
III. <i>Sir Thomas More</i> . . . . .	(1480—1535)		75
IV. <i>John Fisher</i> . . . . .	(1459—1535)		163
V. <i>Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex</i> . . . . .	(1498—1540)		181
VI. <i>Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk</i> . . . . .	(1473—1554)		197
VII. <i>Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset</i> . . . . .	(***—1552)		206
VIII. <i>John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland</i> . . . . .	(1502—1553)		239
IX. <i>Hugh Latimer</i> . . . . .	(1475—1555)		256
X. <i>Stephen Gardiner</i> . . . . .	(1483—1555)		303
XI. <i>Thomas Cranmer</i> . . . . .	(1498—1556)		330
XII. <i>Sir John Cheke</i> . . . . .	(1514—1557)		364
XIII. <i>Reginald Pole</i> . . . . .	(1500—1558)		393
XIV. <i>Roger Ascham</i> . . . . .	(1515—1568)		410

	Born	Died	Page
XV. <i>John Jewel</i> .....	(1522—1571)		436
XVI. <i>John Knox</i> .....	(1505—1572)		449
XVII. <i>Matthew Parker</i> ....	(1504—1575)		514
XVIII. <i>Sir Thomas Gresham</i> ..	(1519—1579)		535
XIX. <i>George Buchanan</i> ....	(1506—1582)		550



## PREFACE.

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**I**T is a true, though trite remark, that Virtue before she can become (as Plato predicted) the object of intense attachment, must be rendered visible as it were by being embodied in real characters. So personified, under an indefinite variety of shapes she offers to every diversity of genius some noble model of imitation, recommended by it's intellectual or it's moral affinity. And hence the utility of Biographical Collections in general.

Of the following Collection in particular it may farther be observed, that beside presenting at least one distinguished example in nearly every respectable division of society, it exhibits an almost continuous view of the English Annals, from the rudiments of the Reformation under Henry VIII. to the conclusion of the last century. Yet in this, from the frequent occurrence of contemporary Lives, it has been found no easy matter to allot in just proportions to each, as they respectively embellished or influenced the des-

tiny of their country, their shares of the national story. Occasional repetitions, under such circumstances, are inevitable. They characterise, indeed, the most valuable aggregate of ancient Memoirs: and what the Theban was doomed to encounter, may be endured without disgrace by the British Plutarch.

Since some principle of succession however was to be acted upon, and no two Lives here introduced, though nearly co-eval, are exactly conterminous, it became necessary to regulate the order by the dates of one of their extremes; and that of their Deaths has been adopted, both because the beginnings of Greatness are usually more precarious as to the age at which they take place, and the sway which it exercises over public affairs is generally more considerable even in advanced years than in early youth.

That this Compilation is founded upon another of the same name, of which the last English edition was printed in 1791 (and has, subsequently, become scarce) is merely mentioned, in order to escape the charge of unacknowledged obligation. For not to advert to entire Lives omitted and inserted, of those which are retained the larger part are in a great measure re-composed. The stile, in fact, of the pre-

ceding work had obviously occupied but little of the writer's attention. Clumsy insertions, without the grace or the interest of episode, continually break its tenor: in the details of battles, throughout his later volumes, it is too complimentary to say, that he has copied the dull particularity of gazettes; and he has disgraced them all by numerous and irrelevant traits of hostility to our Established Church. These, it is superfluous, I trust, to add, I have deemed it in more than one capacity my duty sedulously to expunge.\*

Still, a Collection of Lives is almost necessarily a cento. Written and re-written nearly to satiety, they can now only be attired in a different garb, or arranged in a different succession. Of one privilege, indeed, I have extensively availed myself; that of desecration. An apology will hardly be expected

\* For a similar freedom exercised upon Mr. Laing's 'History of Scotland,' though exceeding the strict limits of my allotted function, which was confined to verbal and idiomatic criticism as preparatory to the second edition, I had the high honour of that gentleman's very flattering acknowledgement: "I am particularly obliged to Mr. Wrangham (he observed, in a letter to a friend) for his liberal strictures upon certain passages which, the ardor of composition being now over, I did not hesitate immediately to expunge." Those, who have collated the two editions, will be at no loss to compute the extent of these suggestions.

from me for having excluded from this Pantheon of British Worthies,

*Inventas—qui vitam excoluere per artes,  
Quique sui memores alios fecere merendo,*

such names as Foote, and Shenstone, and Churchill, and Sterne. Even had they not occupied niches wanted for more distinguished characters, they must be pronounced by their warmest advocates discreditably inferior in dignity to the greater part of their immortal compeers. Of ambiguous or of petty celebrity, they would themselves, if re-invested with earthly feelings, be surprised at their own apotheosis. It shall not be my fault, if a passion be kindled in any ingenuous bosom for pugilism, or profligacy, in or out of canonicals. In the very extreme of her accommodating superstition, Rome never placed the crocodiles and the onions of Egypt by the side of her Capitoline Gods.

In several, likewise, of the more important biographies considerable contractions have been made, with the view of leaving a wider space for those of More, Raleigh, Bacon, Strafford, Clarendon, Milton, Hale, Tillotson, Locke, Burnet, &c.; whose Lives, it was judged, might be expanded with great advantage to the youthful reader. With respect, also, to Knox and

Walpole, who have lately exercised the able pens of Dr. Macrie and Archdeacon Coxe, copiousness of new and authentic documents invited to diffusion.

Of the Seven additional Memoirs, the Life of Colonel HUTCHINSON has enabled me to display a sketch at least of the portrait, which his excellent widow has so admirably drawn, of the manners of the Protectoral age. To Sir John CHEKE I owe the opportunity of inserting valuable extracts from his volume of Letters (now rare) on the 'Right Pronunciation of Greek;' and Viscount NELSON, the only one of my Hundred who has died within the present century, is indebted for his admission to my perusal of the interesting Epitome published in one of our periodical works. Dr. BENTLEY, I avow with a feeling almost amounting to remorse, deserved a far more industrious—alas! a far abler—biographer than myself. Why will not his own Burney give to the world this literary giant in his full dimensions? Of Sir Philip SIDNEY, who had hitherto strangely been omitted, of Bishop BERKELEY, and of Sir William JONES, the pretensions are surely as unequivocal, as the materials are accessible and abundant.

With respect to the Lives of Burke, Windham, Pitt, and Fox, of which I have been strongly impor-

tuned to include some account in the present Collection, the public will perhaps think with me, that it would be to 'tread upon ashes, under which the fire is not yet sufficiently extinguished to bear the foot of the biographer.' Years upon years must elapse, before their conduct and character can be discussed with the freedom, or appreciated with the temper, of history. The *beneficia* and the *injuriæ*, real or imaginary, which they have conferred or inflicted, will for a long period expose them, with equal disadvantage, to undeserved panegyric and undeserved censure. It has been stated, indeed, by the noble relative of the last of them, that "although those who admired him in public, and those who loved him in private, must naturally feel desirous that some memorial should be preserved of the great and good qualities of his head and heart, the objections to such an undertaking at present are obvious; and, after much reflexion, they have appeared to those connected with him to be insuperable." This "applies to the Memoirs of every public man."

In the Specimens which I have attached to the earlier Lives in particular, exclusively of the consideration that many of them are made from volumes now seldom to be met with, it has been my anxious wish not only to exhibit a fair sample of their

various species of composition, but also to discuss (whenever that could be done within reasonable limits) some great general subject; and such I have invariably preferred, as seemed to me to comprise the best lessons of prudence, or of piety. To the Latin extracts, likewise, versions have usually been subjoined; with the exception however of those, which follow the brief memoir of Sir John Cheke, and which from their very nature could have little interest for the English reader. If, under this head, there should appear an occasional want of uniformity, I may be permitted to plead, that from several books in my secluded situation extracts could only be procured with great difficulty; that, in more than one instance, copies made by a distant friend arrived too late to be forwarded in time for the convenience even of a very accommodating printer; that quotations introduced, on account of their historical character, into the body of a narrative have now and then superseded the necessity of additional ones at its conclusion; and, above all, that the fear of swelling the Volumes to an undue size has frequently induced the suppression of what had been selected with care, and transcribed with effort. With regard to their orthography, though in a few specimens the antiquated spelling has been retained (as likely to minister gratification to a certain class of students) the greater number, it is presumed, will be glad to possess them in a more intelligible form.



It remains for me to avow my various obligations : more especially to the Rev. Dr. Symmons, from whose ' Life of Milton,' had I been able to do it justice in an epitome, I should have derived the principal ornament of my work ; to the Rev. Dr. Wordsworth, whose ' Ecclesiastical Biography ' needs no eulogium of mine ; and to Sir Egerton Brydges, Bart. M. P., for many highly valued acts of literary kindness. In addition likewise to these, whom I am happily permitted to call my friends, and to the authorities specifically accompanying each separate Memoir, I ought to name, as sources from which I generally profited, Aikin's and Chalmers' Biographical Dictionaries (as far as they had respectively extended), the Lives prefixed to the British Essayists and Novelists, the Biographies of Johnson and Anderson, the brief but vivid sketches of Granger, and the too speedily closed labours of Macdiarmid. The small volume, which might have improved the accounts of Selden and of Usher, has never reached my hands.

After all—my compilation, which (it may farther be observed) was nearly completed several years ago, is of an extremely unambitious nature. Unlike it's illustrious century of subjects, who may proudly challenge

— All that insolent Greece or haughty Rome  
Sent forth, or since did from their ashes come,

it aspires to crave for it's humble pages the attention only of youth. If, with sound principles, it be found to supply to the upper classes of our schools a series of Lives authentic in incidents, and in style not inelegant or incorrect, I trust I shall not be thought to have thrown away or abused the leisure, with which by the blessing of Providence I have been indulged. Without wholly foregoing the hope, that some of it's passages may be perused even by the advanced scholar with pleasure, I feel that to have pursued the inquiries necessary for the discovery of more minute particulars (had a library of above ten thousand volumes, in all cases, enabled me so to do) or the reflexions to which those particulars might have given birth, would have implied a heavier trespass on my professional engagements, than I have dared to incur. Fully satisfied, therefore, if it be my good fortune to attain the praise I covet, of upright intention and accurate execution, I resign without a murmur the glories of more legitimate biography to those, who have higher qualifications and better opportunities.

FRANCIS WRANGHAM.



THE  
**BRITISH PLUTARCH.**

---

JOHN COLET, D.D.

DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S.\*

---

[1466—1519.]

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**A**MONG the various degrees of excellence which endear the memories of illustrious men to posterity, that which lays a foundation for the improvement of the human mind through a long succession of ages, by providing for the education of youth, deservedly holds an eminent station. The reader therefore will not be displeased, that the order of chronology requires us to assign the first place to the memoirs of the pious founder of St Paul's school.

John Colet was the eldest son of Sir Henry Colet, citizen and mercer, who upon the accession of Henry VII. to the throne, as a reward for his attachment, received the honour of knighthood. He was likewise

\* **AUTHORITIES.** *The Life of Erasmus, Biographia Britannica,* and Knight's *Life of Colet.*

twice elected, by his fellow-citizens, to the dignity of chief magistrate.

The subject of our biography was born in London, in the parish of St. Antholin's, in the year 1466; and in 1483 was sent to Magdalen College, Oxford, where at the expiration of seven years he took with distinguished reputation his degree of M.A. All the works of Cicero, indeed, were familiar to him; neither was he a stranger to Plato and Plotinus, whom he diligently perused and compared, the one as a comment upon the other. Such, however, was the infelicity of the times, that the Greek language was not only neglected in the English schools and universities, but the encouragement of it was regarded as little better than heresy;\* so that Colet was obliged to read the two latter authors in their Latin translations.

At the time of taking his degree, he had a competent estate to support him as a gentleman, and sufficient interest to recommend him at court. He had, likewise, the advantage of a tall and graceful person; and the design of making him a courtier might perhaps have been conceived by his father, from his having enjoyed gayety and splendor in the public offices in the city, and established a very particular interest with the king. But the young man, whose disposition was truly religious, was determined to enter into holy orders, and to renounce the temptations of a courtly life. As a farther encouragement, in 1485 he received from Sir William Knevet, a near relation

\* In reference to this barbarous opinion, Erasmus quotes a proverb, *Cave à Græcis, ne fias hereticus*; 'Beware of Greek, lest you become a heretic.'

of his mother, the valuable rectory of Dennington in Suffolk, which he held till his death; and in 1490 he was also presented by his father to the living of Thurning, in the county of Huntingdon: but this he resigned in 1493, when he was appointed prebendary of Botevant, in the church of York. The prebend likewise of Good Easter, in the church of St. Martin's Le Grand, he resigned in 1503, having been admitted the year before to that of Durnesford, in the church of Sarum.\*

His ample income now afforded him the means of gratifying an inclination, which he had long cherished, of visiting foreign countries, in order to complete his studies in the learned languages, to read the ancient Greek fathers, and to cultivate an acquaintance with men of letters. For this purpose, he quitted Oxford in 1493; and passing over to the continent, studied divinity both in Italy and France, where he met with several other English students, who had gone abroad to attain the Greek tongue. The passion for that language indeed, and for the study of the purer Latin writers, was now grown extremely prevalent throughout Europe, and no where more than in England, whence numbers of the youth, and many more advanced in life, continually travelled in quest of them.

\* These preferments, bestowed upon so young a man, may seem somewhat extraordinary. But under the regulations of the Romish church, Colet being then an Acolyth, which is one of their seven ecclesiastical orders, was qualified to hold them without impropriety. It was one of the abuses, indeed, of that hierarchy to bestow livings upon persons from their youth incapable of undertaking the cure of souls, and as such engaged the earliest attention of the English Reformers.

Charles VIII. stiled 'The Courteous,' at this time sat upon the throne of France, and by his patronage of the sciences had rendered Paris a place of general resort for men of eminence in every profession. Here Colet took up his first residence; and here he speedily became acquainted with Gaguin, the French historian, who had visited England on an embassy to Henry VII. This gentleman inspired him with an ardent desire to be introduced to Erasmus, by showing him, as a specimen of his skill in the Latin tongue, a complimentary letter, which he had received from him upon the publication of his History of France. Here likewise he formed an intimacy with the celebrated Budæus, who, by his honourable mention of Colet, in his correspondence with Erasmus, laid the foundation of his future friendship with that illustrious scholar.

From Paris Colet proceeded to Italy, where his acquaintance with men of learning became still more universal. At Rome he first knew the grammarian William Lilly, who had learned Greek at Rhodes, and was improving himself in Latin under John Salpitiuss and Pomponius Sabinus. In Italy also he found two more of his countrymen, Grocyn and Linacre, who were perfecting themselves in the knowledge of the Greek tongue under Demetrius Politianus and Hermolaus Barbarus; and at Padua he had an opportunity of cultivating the acquaintance of Latimer, who with the same classical object had resided for some time in that university.

Upon his return to England in 1497, he had much difficulty (it is said) to resist his desire of appearing at court, where he might display his foreign accomplishments to the best advantage. Some of his natu-



ral propensities, indeed, were less adapted to the confinement of a college, than to the activity of public life. He had a high spirit, impatient of the least injury and affront. His nature, likewise, inclined him to love and luxury; and an air of freedom and pleasantry characterised his whole demeanour. But he first conquered, and then commanded himself, by so far subjecting his passions to reason and philosophy, that he could bear a reproof even from his own servants. His disposition to effeminate indulgences he restrained by continual abstinence, strict sobriety, close application, serious thinking, and religious conversation; and thus he preserved himself from the pollutions of the world. But whenever opportunities offered, either of jesting with facetious persons, of conversing familiarly with the female sex, or of appearing at feasts and entertainments, nature was sure to break forth; and hence he seldom associated with laymen, or visited public places. If however necessity carried him thither, he selected some learned person, with whom he conversed in Latin, to avoid the frivolous discourse of the table; and he usually confined himself to a single dish, and to one or two draughts of beer. "There never was," says Erasmus, "a more flowing wit; and, for that reason, he delighted in congenial society: but even there he chose such discourses as savoured most of religion; and it is a proof of his great good-nature, that he was a passionate lover of little children, whose innocence he admired of all things."

Immediately upon his return, he was ordained deacon, and shortly afterward priest. With his father and mother, who at that time lived in London, he resided a few months, and then retired

to Oxford; where, in compliance with the prevalent custom of delivering voluntary lectures, though he had neither taken nor desired any degree in divinity, he expounded without stipend or reward the Epistles of St. Paul. The novelty of these exercises occasioned crowded audiences, and admiration of the lecturer increased and continued them. There was scarcely a doctor in divinity or law, or any other dignitary of the church, who neglected to attend him, or withheld from him the applause which he deserved. By the bigots only, and those who were interested in maintaining the old ignorance and superstition, he was regarded as a heretic and a schismatic, because he openly avowed the necessity of a reformation.\*

Things were in this situation at Oxford, when Erasmus, who had for some time resided at Paris as tutor to Lord Montjoy, was induced by his noble pupil to visit England: and having a recommendation to Richard Charnock, of the college of St. Mary the Virgin, he proceeded directly to that university.

Charnock, who was an acquaintance of Colet's, no sooner mentioned to him the name of his guest, than impatient to recommend himself to so eminent a character, he immediately addressed to him an elegant epistle, which proved the writer to be a scholar, a traveller, and a gentleman; concluding with these words, "I congratulate you upon your arrival in this island, and wish our country may be as pleasant to you, as I know you, by your great learning, must be useful to us. I am, Sir, and shall always be, devoted to one whom I believe to be the most learned and the best of men." Erasmus instantly returned him an answer, equally

\* See the Extract subjoined at the end of the Life.

polite and animated, observing, "If he could discover any thing commendable in himself, he should indeed be proud of the commendation of one, to whose judgement he paid such deference, that his silent esteem alone would have been preferable to all the applauses of a Roman theatre. Your country of England," he subjoins, "is most agreeable to me upon many accounts; but more particularly as it abounds with those blessings, which alone give all other blessings their relish, men of admirable attainments, among whom no one will repine that I reckon you the chief." He then praises the stile of his letters, as easy, smooth, and unaffected, flowing from a rich vein like water from a pure fountain, every part resembling itself; open, plain, and modest, without any thing turbid or intricate, so that he could clearly discern in it the image of his soul.

This epistolary correspondence, joined to the commendations of Budæus, led to an intimacy, which continued with the greatest cordiality to the end of their lives.\* They studied to improve each other, and to instruct mankind: and though they some-

\* It is delightful to observe the anxiety, with which Colet watched and forwarded the progress of his friend's first edition of the New Testament: "I am really astonished, my dear Erasmus (he observes in one of his epistles) at the fruitfulness of your talents; that without any fixed residence, and with a precarious and limited income, you continue to publish so many and such excellent works.—As to the tranquil retirement which you sigh for, be assured that you have my sincere wishes for it's rendering you as happy and composed as you can wish it. Your age and erudition entitle you to such a retreat. I fondly hope indeed that you will choose this country for it, and come and live among us, whose disposition you know, and whose friendship you have proved."

times differed in opinion upon theological points, they always differed without any diminution of their mutual regard. On the contrary, in 1499, during their first conferences upon our Saviour's reluctances and terrors before his last passion, in which Colet rejected the common notion of divines, that Christ upon a prospect of his agonies shrunk from them in his human nature, Erasmus (who maintained the opinion of the schoolmen) pronounces himself a rash man and a raw soldier, for daring to enter the lists with such an experienced general. Colet also freely expressed to Erasmus his great dislike of the new theology, which had unhappily been introduced into the church, and was in effect nothing but the art of trifling and wrangling; told him that he had set himself against those quibbling and bickering divines, and would if possible restore the theological studies, which were founded upon the Sacred Records and the primitive fathers; and added, that with this view he had publicly expounded the Epistles of St. Paul, and should be glad of a partner in the labour of *searching the Scriptures*.

When Erasmus left England, Colet still remained at Oxford, where he proceeded with his usual exposition of the Apostolical Epistles; his sole object being the destruction of that idol of ignorance, the scholastic divinity, and the exaltation of the Scriptures and Jesus Christ in it's room. Hence the schoolmen looked upon him with a jealous eye. He continued however, in conjunction with his friend Erasmus, greatly to promote the Reformation, by successfully attacking the Scotists and the Thomists, who had divided between them the Christian world;

as well as by detecting the shameful abuses of monasteries and houses called 'religious,' and pointing out the evils which attended the celibacy of the clergy.

Farther promotion was to be the reward of his conspicuous merit: in 1502 he was made prebendary of Sarum, in 1504 he became D. D., and in 1505, having been previously instituted to the prebend of Mora in St. Paul's, he was by the favour of Henry VII., who esteemed him both as an able preacher and an unambitious divine, without either his solicitation or knowledge, made Dean of St. Paul's. Thus elevated, as if he had been called only to the labours, not to the dignity of his office, he restored the decayed discipline of his cathedral church,\* introduced the new practice of preaching himself upon Sundays, and among others summoned to his assistance Grocyn and Sowle, whom he appointed to read divinity-lectures upon all solemn festivals. He himself in the pulpit, instead of taking a desultory text out of the Epistle or Gospel for the day, was accustomed to select a fixed and comprehensive subject, for the purpose of prosecuting it in several successive discourses. Upon these occasions

\* "The reform with respect to residence in the cathedral of St. Paul's, which Warham, during the short time he occupied the see of London, had set himself to accomplish, Dean Colet carried into effect. In the body of statutes as revised by him, and confirmed by the legatine authority of Wolsey, it was enacted, that there should in future be, under the Dean as head, four and only four canons resident, eligible (as before) out of the senior prebendaries, offering themselves and protesting their design of residence, as formerly, at one of the quarterly feasts; when, if none came forward, some one should be invited to accept the office, and in case of refusal be amerced in some pecuniary fine!" (*Churton's Life of Nowell.*)

he had always a full auditory, among whom were the chief magistrates of the city. Nor was he an assiduous preacher of the gospel in his own cathedral alone, but at court likewise, and in many other churches, his sermons were attended by crowded congregations.

At this time, there was scarcely even a Latin Testament to be found in any English cathedral. Instead of the Gospel of Christ, the Gospel of Nicodemus was affixed to a pillar in the nave of the metropolitan church of Canterbury. But Dean Colet's method of expounding the Scriptures began to raise in the nation an inquiry after "the oracles of God." That he was indeed more than half a Protestant, appears from his having condemned Auricular Confession, Purgatory, and the daily celebration of the Mass. It was his pious ambition, to have all divine service performed in a solemn manner: with the Apostolical Epistles he was delighted; but what most deeply affected him were the admirable discourses of Christ in the Gospels, which he selected and arranged under proper heads.

Of his mode of living Erasmus has transmitted the following relation, as an example to posterity: "The Dean's table, which in the time of his predecessor, under the name of hospitality, had savoured too much of pomp and luxury, he contracted to a more frugal and temperate way of entertainment. It had been his custom for many years to eat only one meal a-day, that of dinner; so that he always had the evening to himself. When he dined in private with his own family, he had usually some strangers for his guests; but these were only few, because his provision was frugal, though genteel. The sitting

at table was short, and such as pleased only the learned and the good. After grace before meat some boy, who had a good voice, read distinctly a chapter out of one of St. Paul's Epistles, or out of Solomon's Proverbs. When the chapter was ended, the Dean would select some particular part of it as a theme for conversation, and ask his companions their opinion of it's meaning: at the same time so adapting his manner to their dispositions, that even these grave topics under his judicious management neither tired their patience, nor occasioned them any distaste. Toward the end of the repast, he generally suggested some other subject of discourse; and then dismissed his guests, improved both in mind and body by their religious and rational visit. From the conversation of his particular friends, which usually turned upon either religion or learning, he derived infinite delight, and he would sometimes protract it far into the evening. In the choice of his company, indeed, he was in general scrupulously careful; and, if he could not have such as were agreeable, he caused a servant to read to him out of the Scriptures. "In his excursions," says Erasmus, "he would sometimes make me one of his company, and then no man could be more easy and pleasant. He always carried a book with him, and seasoned his conversation with religion. He had an aversion from all impure and improper discourse, and loved to be neat and clean in his apparel, furniture, entertainment, books, and whatever belonged to him; but he held all pageantry and magnificence in contempt. Though it was then a custom for the higher clergy to appear in purple, his habit was invariably black. His upper garment, of plain woollen cloth, was in cold weather

lined with fur. Whatever he received from his church-preferments was delivered to his steward, to be laid out in family-occasions, or hospitality; and the entire produce of his large paternal estate was appropriated to pious and charitable uses."

Yet, notwithstanding the purity of his life, he could not escape the imputation of heresy; having had the courage, in compassion for the sufferers called 'Lollards,' to interpose in behalf of one of them with the king, who granted him his life and liberty. This act of humanity exposed him to the hostility of the Bishop of London,\* a superstitious and stubborn Scotist and a virulent persecutor of the new sect, who presented articles against him to the Archbishop of Canterbury: 1. That he had said, Images were not to be worshipped; 2. That he had expounded the triple injunction, *Feed my sheep*, by good example, sound doctrine, and something different from temporal revenue; and 3. That by blaming those who read their sermons he had obliquely taxed his diocesan, whose age rendered such

\* Richard Fitzjames, who had been successively Prebendary of St. Paul's, Bishop of Rochester 1496, and Bishop of Chichester 1504. He was translated to London in 1506, and was succeeded in that see in 1522, by the celebrated Cuthbert Tunstall. Failing in his charges before Warham, he next attempted, but in vain, to incense the court against Colet, for having affirmed in a sermon, 'That an unjust peace was to be preferred before a most just war.' "The Dean was not only in trouble," we learn from Latimer's Sermons, "but would have been burnt, if God had not turned the King's heart to the contrary." The prebendaries of St. Paul's likewise, Erasmus informs us, complained that he used them as if they were monks; whereas, indeed, that college was anciently (and, in old records, is) called 'the Eastern Monastery,' as *Westmonasterium* the Western Monastery.



an indulgence necessary. But Warham, who well knew the Dean's integrity, would not give him the trouble of putting in any formal answer. It is added, that the Bishop would have convicted him likewise of heresy for having translated the Pater Noster into English, if the Archbishop had not stood up in his defence.

The troubles and persecutions however, which Colet underwent, only served to increase his charity and his devotion. Having no near relations, he was resolved to consecrate the chief part of his large property to some permanent benefaction in his life-time, as William of Wykeham had done at Winchester in the reign of Edward III. With the view therefore of promoting the restoration and improvement of letters, he determined to provide a grammar-school, for the instruction of youth in the Latin and Greek languages. This, he apprehended, 'would lay the best foundation for academical studies, particularly those of divinity; and thus, in founding one school, he hoped to become the restorer of the two universities. Of this his intended beneficence he deemed London, as the place of his nativity, the most worthy. The best account of his institution is given by Erasmus, who says, "He laid out a considerable portion \* of his inheritance in building St. Paul's school, which is a magnificent fabric dedicated to the child Jesus. Two dwelling-houses were added for the two masters, to whom ample salaries are allotted. The school is divided into four apartments: the boys have their distinct forms one above another; and every form holds sixteen. The greatest hopes

\* Amounting, at that time, to 122*l.* 4*s.* 7½*d.*

and happiness of commonwealths, he wisely perceived, consisted in the training up of children to good letters and true religion; for which noble purpose he laid out an immense sum, and would admit no person to bear a share in the expense."

This noble seminary the judicious founder has not clogged with any statute, which might prevent it from being generally useful to the world. Children born in any part of the kingdom, even foreigners of all nations and countries, are capacitated to partake of it's privileges: and he also farther evinced his judgement in giving liberty to declare the sense of his statutes in general,\* and to alter or correct, enlarge or diminish them, as should in future times be thought most advantageous for the better government of the school.

These statutes were drawn up by the Dean himself in English, in such a grave and pious strain, that they seem to have been written by one, who was not of the communion of the Romish church. In the prologue he says, that "desiring nothyng more thanne education and bringing uppe children in good manners and literature, in the yere of our Lorde a M. fyve hundred and twelfe, he bylded a scole the estende of Paulis church, of CLIII. to be taught fre in the same. And ordained there a maister, and a surmaister, and a chapelyn, with sufficient and perpetual stipendes ever to endure; and set

\* While he was forming his regulations, says Mr. Dibdin, "he did not fail to keep the presses of Wynkyn de Worde and Pynson pretty constantly at work, by publishing the grammatical Treatises of Grocyn, Linacre, Stanbridge, Lilye, Holte, Whittington, and others for the benefit, as well of the public, as of his own particular circle." (*Biblioman.* 289.)

patrones and defenders, governours and rulers of that same scole, the most honest and faithful fellowshipe of the mercers of London." \*

As he had been the pious founder of the school, so likewise he laboured to be the perpetual teacher and instructor of the scholars, by drawing up some rudiments of grammar with an abridgement of the principles of religion, and publishing them for the use of the new seminary. This was called 'Paul's Accidence,' and dedicated to William Lilly, the first master, in an elegant Latin epistle dated August 1, 1513. It contained several excellent rules for the admission and continuance of boys in his school, which were to be read over to the parents, when they first brought their children, for their assent, as the express conditions of their deriving any benefit from the institution.† He persuaded Erasmus also to trans-

\* This school More, in one of his letters, compares with the Trojan horse, whence many illustrious men issued to overthrow ignorance and barbarism. Among the eminent persons there educated, are the following: Leland, Camden, Milton, and Cumberland Bishop of Peterborough. John Churchill, afterward Duke of Marlborough, was also a scholar upon this foundation: but he probably did not remain there a sufficient time to make any considerable proficiency in classical literature.

† His other tracts were the 'Constitution of the Eight Parts of Speech,' which with alterations and additions forms the Syntax in Lilly's Grammar; 'Daily Devotions, or the Christian's Morning and Evening Sacrifice;' and 'Monition to a Godly Life,' supposed by Wood to be the same with 'A right fruitful Admonition concerning the Order of a good Christian Man's Life;' &c.

Of the custom of the times relating to the education of boys, these statutes furnish a curious picture: "The children shall come into the school in the morning at seven of the clock, both winter and summer, and tarry there until eleven; and re-

late from the English ‘The Institution of a Christian Man’ (as a catechism) into short and simple Latin verse, for the easy apprehension and recollection of the boys; with many other good essays, both in poetry and in prose, toward directing and securing their principles and morals: and Erasmus upon this occasion dedicated to him his two books, ‘*De Copia Verborum ac Rerum*,’ commending his piety and judgement in having thus consulted the good of his country. To these he added Lactantius, Prudentius, Juvenius, Proba, Sedulius, and Baptista Mantuanus, and such other (he remarks) “as shall be thought convenient, and most to purpose, unto the true Latin speech: all barbarity, all corruption, all Latin adulterate, which ignorant blind fools brought into this world, and with the same hath distained and poisoned the old Latin speech, and the veray Roman tongue, which in the time of Tully, and Sallust, and Virgil, and Terence, was used—I say, that filthiness and all such abusion, which the later blind world brought in, which more rather may be called ‘Blotterature’ than ‘Literature,’ I utterly banish and exclude out of this school.”

The troubles in which the Dean had involved

turn again at one of the clock, and depart at five, &c. In the school, no time in the year, they shall use tallow-candle in no wise, but only wax-candle at the costs of their friends. Also I will they bring no meat, nor drink, nor bottle; nor use in the school no breakfasts, nor drinkings, in the time of learning, in no wise, &c. I will they use no cock-fighting, nor riding about of victory, nor disputing at St. Bartholomew, which is but foolish babbling and loss of time.” The master is then restricted, under the penalty of forty shillings, from granting the boys a holiday, or ‘remedy’ (play-day) as it is here called, “except the King, an Archbishop, or a Bishop, present in his own person in the school, desire it.”

himself, in the time of Henry VII., by his zeal for the Scriptures, and his attempts to produce a reformation in the lives of the clergy, did not diminish his fortitude and public spirit during the following reign. There is on record indeed a remarkable instance of his manly intrepidity, and of the high esteem in which he stood with Henry VIII.; a prince, whose inclinations it was usually not very safe to oppose. When that monarch was preparing for war against France, Dr. Colet was appointed to preach before him at court. In the discharge of this duty, he inveighed so strongly against the impiety of war in general, that it was thought he would have been either sent to prison, or perhaps subjected to still heavier punishment. But laying aside his ordinary vehemence, the King sent for him, and took so much pains to convince him of the necessity of this particular contest, that the Dean, in a second sermon upon the same subject, enlarged upon the lawfulness and the expediency of going to war for the service of our country. For this discourse the King cordially thanked the preacher, saying to his nobles who attended him; "Well, let every one choose his own doctor, but this shall be mine." He then drank graciously to his health, dismissed him with every mark of affection, and promised him any favour which he should ask for himself or for his friends.

Beside the dignities and preferment already mentioned, Colet was also rector of the fraternity or guild of Jesus in St. Paul's Church, for which he procured new statutes; one of the chaplains and preachers in ordinary to Henry VIII.; and, if Erasmus is not mistaken, of his privy council. When he was about fifty years of age however, weary of the world, he determined to sequester himself in some

monastery, and there pass the remainder of his days 'in peace and privacy : ' and for this purpose he built a convenient house within the precinct of the Charter-House, near the palace of Sheen or Richmond in Surry, whither he intended, when unable any longer to discharge the duties of his function, to retire. But death prevented him ; for, after twice recovering from the sweating-sickness, he had a relapse which carried him off, September 16, 1519, in the fifty-third year of his age. One of his physicians judged his disease to be the dropsy : but upon opening his body no extraordinary symptoms appeared, except some pustulary eruptions upon the capillary vessels of the liver. His corpse was carried from Sheen to London, and by the care of his mother interred in his own cathedral with an humble monument, and the simple inscription (designed by himself) JO. COLETVS. The company of Mercers however, anxious to show how much they valued him, erected another to his memory with his effigies ;\* but it was destroyed by the great fire in 1666.

That he seldom appeared as an English author, Erasmus with great probability ascribes to a conscious want of accuracy in his stile, from a too frequent inattention to the rules of grammar. His Latin convocation-sermon, preached in 1511, was printed by Pynson, and Dr. Knight has reprinted it in the Appendix to his Life of Colet, with an old English translation of it supposed to have been made by the Dean himself.† It contains a manly, sensible, and spirited attack upon the corruptions of

\* See the description of it in Sir William Dugdale's History of St. Paul's cathedral.

† From the version published in the second volume of ' The Phoenix ' an Extract is given, p. 20.

the church and the clergy of that age. He wrote also, beside what has already been mentioned, and some Latin Letters to Erasmus, 'A Monition to a Godly Life;' and 'Daily Devotions, or the Christian's Morning and Evening Sacrifice.' Some manuscript commentaries likewise on St. Paul, and on the Apostolical Epistles, were found in an obscure corner of his study, but written in characters so illegible that they were totally useless. \*

The person of Dean Colet, as described by Erasmus,† was tall and comely, and he was blessed with an easy polite address, which gave a grace to every thing he said or did. His learning was uncommon for the age in which he lived, his piety exemplary, his sense solid, his philanthropy universal, and his public spirit in the pulpit unprecedented: but his salutary reproof of vice in high stations was conveyed in such strong arguments, untinctured with pride or moroseness, that it procured him advancement even under the reign of a prince, who put many of his subjects to death for having merely presumed to arraign his conduct. Naturally lively, sanguine, and irascible, he was obliged to combat his temper not only by considerations of piety and philosophy, but also by the physical aid of watchings

\* In all probability they were the notes, from which he had read his public lectures at Oxford.

† This celebrated man, who did Colet the honour to call him his master, has given us a hint of his religious sentiments in his famous colloquy entitled, '*Peregrinatio Religionis ergo*,' in which Colet is the person meant under the name of Gratianus Pullus. (Granger.) In a letter also to Jodocus Jonas, he composed his eulogium; characterising him as possessing a largeness of mind, a solidity of judgement, and a freedom of thought and speech far beyond most of his contemporaries.

and fastings, which might probably produce the *tædium vitæ* ascribed to him in his declining years. As a preacher, he was in the selection and distribution of his matter, in his turn of remark, and in his manner of elocution peculiarly impressive: so that his sermons, though purposely adapted to vulgar capacities, were agreeable to men of wit and learning, and in particular were highly admired by, no mean judge, Sir Thomas More. In a word, he was one of the brightest ornaments of his country and his generation; and he must be remembered with gratitude, as one of the chief instruments in the hands of Providence for accomplishing the Reformation: his bold discourses on the abuses which had crept into the church, and the scandalous lives of the clergy, having opened the eyes of the nation; and his happy example in founding a seminary for youth having given birth to that astonishing increase of those foundations, which took place during the thirty years immediately preceding that memorable event.

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EXTRACT

*From his Convocation Sermon of Conforming and Reforming.*

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‘ II. OF REFORMATION.

—‘ *But be ye reformed by the renewing of your mind. The second thing that St. Paul commandeth is, That we be reformed by the renewing of our mind, that we may prove what is that good will of God, well-pleasing and perfect. Let us be reformed*



in those vices, which be in us contrary to those virtues I mentioned even now; that is, to meekness, to sobriety, to charity, to spiritual occupation, that (as the said St. Paul writeth unto Titus) *denying all ungodliness and worldly lusts, we may live soberly, righteously, and virtuously in this present world.*

‘ This reformation and restoring the church’s estate must needs begin of you our fathers, and so follow in us your priests, and in all the clergy. You are the heads, you are an example of living to us; upon you we look, as upon marks of our direction; in you, and in your lives, we desire to read (as in lively books) how and after what manner we ought to live: wherefore if you will consider, and *pull out the motes that be in your eyes*; ’t is an old proverb, Physician, heal thyself; let me beseech you, spiritual physicians, first to take yourselves this purgation of manners, and then afterward offer us the same to take.

‘ Now the way whereby the church may be reformed into a better fashion is, not to make new laws; there be already laws enow, if not too many. *Nothing is new under the sun*, as saith Solomon, Eccles. i. 9. For the evils, that are now in the church, were before in times past; and there is no fault committed among us, for which our forefathers have not provided very good remedies against them in the body of the canon law. It is not needful then, that new laws and new constitutions be made, but those which are made already be well kept and put in execution: wherefore, I pray you, let those canons and laws, which are made, be called for and rehearsed before you in this assembly; those canons,

I mean, that restrain vice, and those that further virtue.

‘ Let those canons be rehearsed, that do learn (*teach*) you, O fathers, not to lay hands suddenly on any man, not to be too facile in admitting into holy orders; for here lies the original and spring-head of all our mischiefs, that the gate of ordination is too broad, the entrance too wide and open; every man, that offers himself, is admitted every where without putting back. Hence comes it, that we have such a multitude of priests, who have little learning and less piety. In my judgement it is not enough for a priest to construe a collect, to put forth a question, to answer a sophism: but an honest, a pure and holy life is much more necessary, approved manners, competent learning in Holy Scripture, some knowledge of the sacraments; but, chiefly and above all things, the fear of God and love of heavenly life.

‘ Let the canons be rehearsed, which command that benefices of the church be given only to those that are worthy; and that promotions be made by the right balance of virtue, not by nearest kindred, or carnal affection, or acception of persons: whereby it happeneth now-a-days that boys, and fools, and ill-livers, do reign and rule in the church, instead of old men, and wise, and good.

‘ To this end let the canons be rehearsed, which forbid and oppose the dirt of simony: which corruption, which infection, which cruel and detestable pestilence, doth now creep abroad like a canker in the minds of priests; so that in these days many are not afraid, by entreaty and servile attendances, by rewards and promises, to procure to themselves great dignities.

• Let the canons be rehearsed, that command personal residence of curates\* in their churches: for of this many evils grow, because all offices now-a-days are performed by vicars† and parish-priests; yea, and those foolish and unmeet, often times wicked, that seek nothing among the laity but filthy lucre, whereof cometh occasion of evil heresies and ill-christendom in the people.

• Let the canons be rehearsed, which concern the lives of you fathers, and the honesty of us priests; which forbid a clergyman to meddle in merchandise, that he be no usurer, no hunter, no common gamer or player, that he bear no weapon: the canons, that forbid clergymen to haunt taverns, that forbid them to have suspected familiarity with women: the canons that command sobriety, moderation in apparel, and temperance in adorning the body.

• And to, my Lords, these monks, prebends (*prebendaries*) and religious men, let the canons be rehearsed, which command them to go the strait way that leads to heaven, leaving the broad way of the world; which command them not to turmoil themselves in business, neither secular nor other; which command, that they do not sow‡ in princes' courts for earthly things: for it is decreed in the first council of Chalcedon,§  
 • That monks ought only to give themselves to prayer and fasting, and to the chastising of the flesh and observing of their rules.'

• Above all things let the canons be rehearsed, that appertain to you, my Reverend Fathers and Lord Bishops; laws concerning your just and canonical

\* Meaning, beneficed clergy having *cure* of souls.

† *Vicarii deputati*.

‡ Lay plots. § Πρωτεύων μόνῃ τῇ ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ τῇ προσευχῇ, κ. τ. λ.

election in the chapters of your churches, calling upon the Holy Ghost: for because those canons are not obeyed now-a-days (but prelates are chosen oftentimes more by the favour of men, than by the grace of God) hence truly it comes to pass, that we have not seldom bishops who have little spirituality in them, men rather worldly than heavenly, savouring more the spirit of this world than the spirit of Christ.

‘ Let the canons be rehearsed of the residence of bishops in their dioceses, which command that they look diligently to the health of souls, that they sow the word of God, that they show themselves in their churches, at least on great holidays; that they officiate in their own persons, and do sacrifice for their people; that they hear the causes and matters of poor men; that they sustain fatherless children and widows, and exercise themselves in works of virtue.

‘ Let the canons be rehearsed, concerning the right bestowing of the patrimony of Christ; the canons, which command that the goods of the church be spent—not in costly building, not in sumptuous apparel and pomps, not in feasting and banqueting, not in excess and wantonness, not in enriching of kinsfolk, not in keeping of hounds; but in things profitable and necessary for the church. For when St. Augustine the monk (once Bishop of England) asked Pope Gregory, how the bishops and prelates in England should spend their goods, which were the offerings of faithful people; the said Pope answered (and his answer is put into the Decrees, xii. 2.) ‘ That the goods of the bishops ought to be divided into four parts; whereof one part ought to be for the bishop and his household, another to his poorer

clergymen, the third to repair and uphold his tencements, the fourth to poor people.'

' Let the canons be rehearsed (yea, and that oftentimes), which take away the filthiness and corruption of your courts, which take away those daily new-found crafts for lucre; which effectually pull away this foul covetousness, which is the spring of all the evils that we feel, the fountain of all iniquity.

' Lastly, let those canons and constitutions of our fore-fathers be renewed, which concern the celebration of councils: which appoint provincial synods to be oftener used for the reformation of the church; because there never happens any thing more hurtful to the church of Christ than the lack of Councils, both General and Provincial.

' When these canons are rehearsed (and such others as concern us, and the correction of our manners), nothing will be lacking, but that the same be put in execution with all authority and power, that once (seeing we have a law) we live according to the law. For which things, with all due reverence, I call chiefly upon you, fathers (for this execution of the canons, and observing of the constitutions, must needs begin at you) that ye may teach us priests to follow you by lively examples; or else truly it will be said of you, *They lay grievous burthens upon other men's backs, but they themselves will not as much as touch them with their little finger.* Matt. xxiii. 4.

' For indeed if you keep the laws, and first reform your own lives to the rules of the canon-laws, then shall ye give us light (in which we may see what is to be done on our part), that is to say, the light of your good example: and we, seeing our fathers so keep the laws, will gladly follow their steps.

' The clergy and spiritual men being thus once re-

formed in the church, we may then with a just order proceed to the reformation of the laity's part: which truly will be very easily done, if we be first reformed ourselves. For the body follows the soul; and such as the rulers in the city be, such are the inhabitants. Wherefore, if priests that have the charge of souls be good, the people will straight be good too. Our goodness will teach them far more clearly and effectually to be good, than all other teachings and preachings whatsoever: our goodness shall compel them into the right way, truly more powerfully than all your suspensions, excommunications, and cursings.

‘ Wherefore, if ye will have the lay-people to live after your wish and will, first live ye yourselves after the will of God; and so, trust me, ye shall effect in them whatsoever ye would.

‘ Ye would be obeyed by them; and it is fit ye should (for these are the words of St. Paul to the lay-people, *Obey them that have rule over you, and submit yourselves*; Heb. xiii. 17.): but if you will have this obedience, first do you perform within yourselves that, which is the reason and cause why they ought to obey you, which the said St. Paul teacheth (and it follows in the text) viz. *Take ye heed diligently, as those that must give a reckoning for their souls*; and they will obey you.

‘ Ye would be honoured of the people; and reason good (for St. Paul writes to Timothy, that the *priests who rule well are worthy of double honour, especially they who labour in the word and teaching*; 1 Tim. iii. 17.): but if you desire to be honoured, first look that you rule well, and that you labour in word and teaching; and then shall the people have you in all honour.

‘ Ye would reap their carnal things, and gather

tithes and offerings without contention; and it is very fit (for St. Paul writing to the Romans saith, *It is their duty to minister unto you in carnal things*; Rom. xv. 27.): but you ought first to ~~sow~~ sow your spiritual things, and then ye shall ~~reap~~ reap plentifully their carnal things; for truly that man is very hard and unjust, who ~~will~~ *reap where he never did sow, and desires to gather where he never scattered.*

‘ Ye would have the church’s liberty, and not be drawn before secular judges: this also is reasonable; (for it is in the Psalms, *Touch not mine anointed*; Ps. cv. 15.): but if ye desire this liberty, first unloose yourselves from the worldly bondage, from trucking with the world, and from the vile services of men; and lift up yourselves to the true liberty, the spiritual liberty of Christ: place your hearts and affections upon his service, which is perfect freedom: serve your God, and reign in him; and then, believe me, the people will not touch the anointed of their Lord God.

‘ Ye would be out of business in rest and peace; and that is convenient: but if ye would have peace, return to the God of peace and love. Come again to Christ; (in whom is true peace ‘ which passeth all understanding’); come again to yourselves, and to your priestly living. And (to make an end) as St. Paul saith, *Be ye reformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may savour the things that be of God; and the peace of God shall be with you.*’

## CARDINAL WOLSEY.\*

[1471—1530.]

**I**N the Life of Thomas Wolsey we meet with one of the most extraordinary examples, which history furnishes, of the vicissitudes of human events. The son of a butcher of Ipswich in the county of Suffolk, he was elevated to the highest stations both in church and state; and then, like an idol set up by Fortune merely to show her power, hurled down in an instant from all his greatness, and reduced to a more wretched condition even than that from which he had been originally raised. It is true, indeed, he enjoyed the advantage of a liberal education: for his father, observing in him an uncommon aptness of apprehension, sent him early to the grammar-school; whence, by the assistance of some kind friends, he was removed to Magdalen College, Oxford. Here he made so extraordinary a progress, that he took the degree of B. A. when he was only fifteen years of age; whence he was commonly called ‘The Boy-Bachelor.’ He was next admitted to a fellowship in the same col-

\* **AUTHORITIES.** Cavendish’s *Life of Wolsey*, *Biographia Britannica*, Fiddes’ *Life of Wolsey*, Lord Herbert’s *Life of Henry VIII.*, and Rapin’s and Hume’s *Histories of England*.



lege,\* and subsequently nominated master of Magdalen school, where the sons of the Marquis of Dorset were then placed for their education.

This was a fortunate circumstance for the new preceptor; for the Marquis, sending for his boys to pass the ensuing Christmas holidays at his country-seat, invited the master to accompany them. Delighted with the conversation of one, who to his extensive knowledge added a most insinuating address, he found his sons likewise so much improved during the short time they had been under his care, that he determined to reward his diligence with some distinguished mark of approbation: and accordingly, a benefice in his gift falling vacant during the recess, he bestowed it upon him. To this his first ecclesiastical preferment, the rectory of Lymington in Somersetshire, he was instituted in 1500, being then in the twenty-ninth year of his age.

He now quitted the university to take possession of his living; but an accident happened soon afterward, which rendered his new situation extremely disagreeable. Naturally of a free and sociable disposition, he lived upon the most familiar terms with his parishioners and the neighbouring gentlemen. By some of these he was drawn to a fair at an adjacent town, where it is said that in a state of intoxication he occasioned some disturbance: upon which Sir Amias

\* During his holding the bursarship of this society, Magdalen tower, a structure universally admired for its beautiful simplicity and symmetry, was finished. It was rumoured, that the bursar by violent means procured from the college-treasury the needful supplies; but this most probably, as Dr. Fiddes suggests, could only have been under an idea that he was unjustly opposed, contrary to some previous authority received from the society, wherein yet they might think it convenient, by reason of the growing expenses of the building, that he should be restrained.

Pawlet, a justice of the peace, who had already taken a dislike to him, set him in the stocks.\*

This mortifying accident gave Wolsey a distaste to Lymington; and the death of the Marquis of Dorset, which happened shortly afterward, finally determined him to leave it. His next situation was that of chaplain to Dr. Deane,† Archbishop of Canterbury; a station to which, in the opinion of the author of the 'British Antiquities,' he recommended himself less by the interest of others than by his own assiduity. Here he grew greatly in favour with his employer, and by his means the name of Wolsey was for the first time mentioned at the court of Rome; the Pope, on the Archbishop's request, granting his chaplain a dispensation to hold two benefices. This, however, was the greatest advantage which Wolsey reaped from the connexion; for Dr. Deane dying in 1503, he was obliged to seek another patron.

A man of true genius and proportional industry is seldom disappointed in any views, upon which he

\* This indignity, so dishonourable to a clergyman, Wolsey had it not then in his power to resent; but he never either forgot, or forgave it: for on being made Lord High Chancellor, he sent for Sir Amias to London, and sharply reprimanded him for his former disrespectful behaviour toward a clergyman, to whom as a pastor he owed obedience. He also ordered him upon no account, without a licence first obtained, to presume to quit the capital. In consequence of which prohibition that gentleman, though he endeavoured by many little acts of submission to soften the Chancellor's anger, continued in the Middle Temple not less than six years.

† He had previously been Prior of Lanthony, and Chancellor of Ireland; from which station he was raised successively to the bishopric of Bangor in 1496, and of Salisbury in 1500. His metropolitan dignity he held only three years (1501—1504), when he made way for the illustrious Warham, Bishop of London, who in 1532 was succeeded by the still more illustrious Cranmer.

employs the whole strength of his understanding. Wolsey found in himself a particular inclination to a court-life; and from several of his expressions it appears, that he actually anticipated the grandeur which awaited him in that sphere; for he used to say, "If he could but set one foot in the court, he would soon introduce his whole body." With this view, he studiously attached himself to persons in power; and having during his residence in the west of England contracted an acquaintance with Sir John Nephant, who at the time of Archbishop Deane's death was treasurer of Calais, and a great favourite of Henry VII., he made an offer to him of his services: upon which Sir John, then on the point of setting off for Calais, appointed him his chaplain, and took him over to France as one of his family. In this situation; Wolsey so effectually insinuated himself into the good graces of his new master, that he was entrusted with the entire management of his office; and in the administration of it gave such satisfaction, that when Sir John on account of his great age obtained leave to resign, he procured for his favourite the honour of being placed upon the list of royal chaplains.

As Wolsey, however, well knew that a bare settlement at court was insufficient to secure a man's future fortune without a peculiar interest among the courtiers, he now paid his devoirs with such success to Fox Bishop of Winchester, and Sir Thomas Lovel, that they quickly recommended him to the King, upon an occasion which gave him ample opportunity of displaying his political abilities, and thus laid the basis of his future promotions.

In the year 1508, his Majesty having resolved to enter into a secret negotiation with the Emperor

Maximilian, who then resided at Bruges, in order to settle some points previously to his intended marriage with Margaret Duchess Dowager of Savoy, that monarch's only daughter, and wanting a proper person to employ upon this embassy, no sooner heard of Wolsey as one admirably qualified for the purpose, than he commanded him to be sent for; and after some private discourse, having fully satisfied himself of his competency, ordered his despatches to be prepared: upon which Wolsey immediately set forward from Richmond, where the King then kept his court.

How was Henry surprised, in less than three days afterward, to see his envoy present himself before him! \* Supposing that he had not yet commenced his journey, he at first began to reprove him for the dilatory execution of his orders; when Wolsey informed him that he was actually returned from Bruges, and had successfully terminated the negotiation, with which he had been charged. "Aye!" said the King; "but, upon farther deliberation finding that something had been omitted in your instructions, I despatched a messenger after you with fuller powers." To which Wolsey replied, "That he had

\* Lord Bacon's Aphorism in his '*De Augmentis Scientiarum*,' VIII. 19. applies to this instance with great propriety. *VIDISTIS VIRUM VELOCEM IN OPERE SUO: CORAM REGIBUS STABIT, NEC ERIT INTER IGNOBILES.* The shrewd, he observes in his explanation, and the popular are disliked, by their royal employers; the adventurous are feared as hazardous, and the honest are shunned as unaccommodating. *Sola velocitas ad mandata* (he adds) *nihil habet, quod non placeat, Insuper, motus animorum regiorum celeres sunt, et moræ minus patientes. Putant enim se quidvis efficere posse: illud tantum deesse, ut citò fiat. Itaque ante omnia iis grata est celeritas.* No wonder, then, that Wolsey was most acceptable to Henry VIII.

indeed met the messenger on the road in his return, and received the powers which his Majesty mentioned; but having during his stay at the imperial court preconceived the purport of them, and their close connexion with his Majesty's service, he had ventured upon his own authority to rectify what he considered as a mistake in his commission, and humbly implored pardon for his presumption."

Henry was so highly delighted with this promptitude, and with its favourable issue, that he gave him public thanks; declared him in council a man fit to be entrusted with the management of affairs of importance; and rewarded him with the deanery of Lincoln, and the prebends of Walton Brinhold and Stow. These preferments enabled him to resign the living of Lymington; and, to complete his good fortune, his graceful and eloquent relation of the particulars of his late embassy before the council attracted the notice of the Prince of Wales, who grew extremely fond of his company.

In 1509, Henry VII. was succeeded by his son, who at his accession was only eighteen years of age. A more fortunate event could not possibly have happened for Wolsey; his firm friend the bishop of Winchester having now a motive of interest, as well as of affection, to induce him to forward his promotion. The influence, which that crafty prelate had maintained in the cabinet during the late reign, having given way to the ascendancy acquired over the young king by the Earl of Surrey, he introduced Wolsey to his new master, with the double view of opposing his rival, and of supporting his own weight in the cabinet. In consequence of this plan, in the first year of Henry VIII. Wolsey was appointed the royal

almoner; and upon the conviction of the corrupt and rapacious Empson received that minister's house, near the royal palace of Bridewell in Fleet-street, with several lands and tenements appertaining to the forfeited estate. In 1510, he was admitted Privy-Councillor, and made Reporter of the proceedings in the Star-Chamber, Canon of Windsor, and Register of the Order of the Garter. Thus firmly seated, he soon convinced his episcopal patron that he had totally mistaken his character, by supplanting at once both him and his antagonist.

It may be necessary to trace the means, by which Wolsey gained the entire confidence of his master, and the total management of public affairs. "The young King, who had been kept under much restraint by his father, was now greatly disposed," says Cavendish, "to give a loose to pleasure, and to follow his princely appetite and desire. His old and faithful counsellors would, however, occasionally advise him to attend more to the public concerns of the nation, and to the duties of his regal character: but the almoner took upon him to discharge the King of the burthen of such weighty and troublesome business, putting him in comfort, that he should need not to spare any time of his pleasure for any business that should happen in the council, so long as he should be there; who having his Grace's authority, and by his commandment, doubted not to see all things well and sufficiently perfected, making his Grace privy first of all such matters, before he would proceed to the accomplishment of the same, whose mind and pleasure he would follow to the uttermost: wherewith the king was wonderfully pleased."

In 1513, Wolsey gave such a striking proof of his

capacity for the management even of military business, that Henry from that time bestowed upon him his unlimited confidence. A war with France \* having been resolved upon in council, his Majesty, determined to invade that kingdom in person, committed to Wolsey the care of providing the formidable armament employed upon the occasion; and Wolsey, though the task to him was new, and to any one must have been difficult, instantly undertook it, to show that he would not in any thing scruple to do his utmost in obeying his sovereign's commands. The extraordinary despatch with which he completed his preparations so greatly pleased the King, that he bestowed upon him the deanery of Hereford, and made him Chancellor of the Order of the Garter.

Henry reached Calais June 30, 1513, accompanied by the chief officers of his court, and by his favourite Wolsey. The principal part of his army had landed before him, and were laying siege to Terouenne, a town situated on the frontiers of Picardy. He now took upon himself the command; and within a short time the emperor Maximilian arrived in the English camp with a considerable reinforcement, assumed the cross of St. George, and accepted the daily pay of a hundred crowns. Soon afterward, the English fell in with a convoy of provisions and ammunition intended for the besieged; upon which a general engagement ensued, when the French were totally de-

\* Henry had been earnestly solicited by Julius II. to enter into this war against Louis XII., the Pope's avowed enemy: and Wolsey himself, it is shrewdly conjectured, advised it, with the view of recommending himself to the court of Rome; nor was the king averse from it, in consideration of the English claims upon the crown of France.

feated.\* Terouenne surrendering in consequence of this victory, Henry delivered it up to Maximilian, who immediately ordered it's walls to be razed, that the dominions of his grandson (Charles of Austria) might be secured from it's future insults.

The English prince next laid siege to Tournay, which capitulated in a few days: and as the Bishop refused to take the oath of allegiance to him, he bestowed the see upon Wolsey, who held it five years, and on the restoration of the city obtained an annual pension in lieu of it from the French monarch.

Soon after the surrender of Tournay, Henry concluded a new treaty with the Emperor, which was ratified at Lisle. He then embarked for England, where he arrived in October after a short but splendid campaign; and in the following year (1514) promoted Wolsey first to the see of Lincoln, and, on the death of Cardinal Bainbridge, to the archbishopric of York.

About this period the Duke of Norfolk, finding the exchequer almost exhausted, was glad to resign his office of Treasurer, and retire from court. The Bishop of Winchester likewise, partly overcome by years and infirmities, and partly disgusted at Wolsey's ascendancy, withdrew himself to the care of his diocese. The Duke of Suffolk also had taken offence, that the King by his favourite's persuasion had refused to pay a debt, which he had contracted during his abode in France; and thenceforward affected to live in privacy. These various incidents left Wolsey without a rival, and his power became absolute; though, when Fox previously to his retirement warned Henry, "not to suffer the servant to be greater

\* From the precipitation, with which the vanquished fled, this engagement was denominated 'The Battle of Spurs.'



than his master," that prince replied, " That he knew well how to retain all his subjects in obedience."

But it was a master-stroke of policy in Wolsey, while he secretly directed all the public councils, constantly to pretend an implicit subjection to the royal will; thus concealing from his sovereign, whose imperious temper would otherwise have ill brooked a director, the authority which he was daily gaining over him: and Henry, in nothing more violent than in his attachments while they lasted, thought he could never sufficiently reward a man so entirely devoted to his service. In consequence of this, Wolsey held at one time such a multitude of preferments, as no churchman beside himself had ever combined. He was even permitted to unite with the see of York the bishoprics of Durham and Winchester,\* and the rich abbey of St. Alban's: and the Pope observing that in fact he governed the nation, with the view of engaging his interest in favour of the Vatican, in 1515 completed his exaltation by creating him Cardinal of St. Cecile beyond the Tiber.

The pageantry, which Wolsey assumed upon this new accession of dignity, is hardly to be paralleled. The splendor of his equipage, and the costliness of his apparel, exceeded all description. He caused his cardinal's hat† to be borne aloft by a person of rank; and, when he came to the king's chapel, he would not

\* See a note extracted from Barnes' *Works*, p. 210. A. D. 1573, in Dr. Wordsworth's valuable 'Ecclesiastical Biography,' I. 341. The bishoprics of Bath, Worcester, and Hereford also were at this time held by foreigners living abroad, who received from the Cardinal an annual payment of money in lieu of their episcopal revenues.

† See ib. 343, on the honours exacted to this hat, from Tindal's *Works*, A. D. 1572, and Fox's Acts.

suffer it to be laid any where except upon the altar. A priest, selected for his size and comeliness, carried before him a pillar of silver, upon the top of which was placed a cross; while another of equal stature and beauty marched along, bearing the cross of York even in the diocese of Canterbury, contrary to the established arrangement between those rival metropolitans. The people indeed with a caustic sneer observed, they were now sensible, that one cross alone was not sufficient for the expiation of his offences. But Warham the Chancellor, and Archbishop of Canterbury, having frequently remonstrated against this affront without effect, chose rather to retire from public employment, than wage an unequal contest with the haughty favourite. He accordingly resigned the seals, which were immediately entrusted to Wolsey. Upon this new promotion, he added to his former parade four footmen with gilt pole-axes, a gentleman to carry the great seal before him, and an additional train of attendants who rode on horseback, while he himself was mounted upon a mule caparisoned with crimson velvet. In this state, he resorted every Sunday to the court at Greenwich from York-House, now Whitehall.

The Cardinal, while he was only almoner to the King, had rendered himself extremely unpopular by his sentences in the Star-Chamber, a most arbitrary and unconstitutional court, where without any respect to the justice of the cause he decided every thing in conformity to his master's wishes. But in his function of Chancellor he made full amends, by discharging his duty with as penetrating a judgement, and as enlarged a knowledge of law and equity, as any who have ever held that great office.

To increase his power however over the clergy, as

well as the laity, he continued to grasp at farther ecclesiastical preferment; and in this, as in every thing else, he quickly succeeded. Cardinal Campeggio had been sent as a legate into England, in order to procure a tithe from the clergy, for the purpose of enabling the Pope to oppose the progress of the Turks. But this pretext had been so frequently adopted to serve the interests of the Romish court, that it had lost its influence. The clergy, therefore, refused to comply with Leo's demand. Upon this, Campeggio was recalled in 1516; and the King desired that Wolsey, who had been joined in the commission, might be singly invested with the legatine power, together with the right of visiting all the clergy and monasteries, and even of suspending for an entire twelvemonth the whole constitutions and laws of the church.

This additional honour was no sooner obtained, than Wolsey made a still greater display of pomp and magnificence.\* On solemn feast-days, he said mass after the manner of the Pope himself: he had not only bishops and abbots to serve him, but even engaged the first nobility to give him water and towels; and Warham having subscribed himself at the foot of a letter, "Your loving brother," Wolsey complained of his presumption in challenging such an equality. When the Primate was told however of the offence which he had given, he simply observed, "Know ye not, that this man is drunk with too much power?" But Wolsey carried the matter far beyond the mere frivolities of external ostentation. He erected an

\* His *Ego, meus et rex* (which is preserved upon a label issuing from the Cardinal's mouth, in one of his prints) is justified by Granger, as idiomatic. "The schoolmaster," he adds, "appears to have got the better of the courtier."

office under the name of the Legatine Court, in which (as Lord Herbert informs us) he exercised a most odious and tyrannical jurisdiction: and he rendered it still more obnoxious by placing over it one John Allen, a man of scandalous life, whom he himself as Chancellor had condemned for perjury. This wretch committed all kinds of rapine and extortion: for, it being his function to inquire into the general morals, no offence escaped censure and punishment, unless privately bought off. Thus, as the rules of conscience are in many cases of greater extent than those of law, Wolsey found means of scrutinising the most secret concerns: besides, under this pretence, he arrogated a power to call in question the executors of wills, and others in similar circumstances. He summoned also religious persons of what degree soever before him, and terrified them with threats of expulsion, till they had compounded. In addition to all this, every benefice, as it fell vacant, was immediately conferred upon one of his creatures.

When Warham at last ventured to inform the King of these usurpations, he professed his entire ignorance of the whole matter: "A man," said he, "is not so blind any where as in his own house! But do you go to Wolsey, and if any thing be amiss, direct him to amend it." A reproof of this kind was not likely to receive much attention; and in effect it only augmented Wolsey's enmity to Warham, whom he had never loved since the dispute about erecting his crosses. One London however, having prosecuted the Legate's judge in a court of law, and convicted him of malversation and iniquity, the clamour at last reached the King's ears, who rebuked the Cardinal so sharply, that he thenceforward became, if not more equitable, more wary than before.

He was now building himself a magnificent palace at Hampton-Court, whither he sometimes retired, as well to mark the progress of the work, as to procure a short recess from the fatigues of business. These were at this time very great; for, beside the concerns of his archbishopric, his legatine character, and his chancellorship, he had all the affairs of the nation upon his hands: yet was the public tranquillity so well established, and the general administration of justice so exact, that ease and plenty blessed the land beyond the experience of many preceding reigns. This happy state of domestic quiet induced Henry, in 1520, in compliance with the solicitations of Francis I. to consent to an interview with that Monarch between Guisnes and Ardres; the two Sovereigns, by mutual consent, committing the regulation of the ceremonial to the Cardinal's discretion.

The occasion of this interview was the death of Maximilian, which had happened the preceding year: in consequence of which the Kings of France and Spain, the two competitors for the imperial throne, separately paid their court to Wolsey, to engage his master in their interest; and that subtle statesman, encouraging both in turn, received on both sides very rich presents and pensions. The latter (the celebrated Charles V.) succeeded in the contest; and having other grounds for a rupture with Francis, privately visited England in 1519, after his election, by the Cardinal's connivance, in order to divert Henry from this memorable interview.\* Henry met him at

\* At this meeting, as we learn from Erasmus in his preface to Jerom, Wolsey took upon him to issue an injunction, that the clergy should all appear dressed in silk or damask. Archbishop Warham alone, despising the edict, wore his usual

Dover; but all he could be prevailed upon to promise was, that nothing should be transacted between him and the French prince prejudicial to the imperial rights. The Cardinal was now caressed and flattered by most of the powers of Europe. The senate of Venice in particular felicitated him by letter upon the fortunate issue of an undertaking, which required

clothes. Of this respectable prelate's character, as drawn by Erasmus (Ep. cxxxv., and Ecclesiast. V. 810.) Jortin has given copious extracts, and subjoins a passage so full of taste, principle, and feeling, that, slightly connected as it is with the subject, I cannot prevail upon myself to withhold it from the reader: "It is with a melancholy kind of pleasure that I transcribe these passages, and shall in other parts of this work insert other testimonies to the honour of the Archbishop; whilst in the character of this amiable primate, drawn by so masterly a hand, I contemplate that of my late patron (Thomas Herring, Archbishop of Canterbury) who, beside the good qualities in which he resembled Warham, had piety without superstition and moderation without meanness, an open and a liberal way of thinking, and a constant attachment to the cause of sober and rational liberty, both civil and religious. Thus he lived, and died; and few great men ever passed through this malevolent world, better beloved and less censured than he.

"He told me once, with an obliging condescension which I can never forget, that he would be to me what Warham was to Erasmus; and what he promised, he performed: only less fortunate in the choice of his humble friend, who could not be to him what Erasmus was to Warham. But if these pages should live, protected by the subject which they treat, and the materials of which they are composed, they may perhaps assist in doing justice to his memory.

*His mihi dilectum nomen manesque verendos,  
His saltem accumulem donis, et fungar amico  
Manere! Non totus, raptus licet, optime præsul,  
Eriperis: reddit os placidum, moresque benigni,  
Et venit ante oculos et pectore vivit imago."*

(Life of Erasmus.)

the most consummate prudence: the Pope likewise transmitted him the strongest testimonies of his approbation, granting him a yearly pension of two thousand ducats, and constituting him Perpetual Administrator of the bishopric of Badajoz.

By these extensive subsidies from foreign courts, and the unlimited munificence of his own sovereign, who was continually loading him with spiritual and temporal monopolies, Wolsey's income is reported to have fallen little short of the revenues of the crown itself. This was a circumstance sufficient to raise the ambition of a nature, in itself so aspiring, to the most extravagant height.

Upon the death of Leo X. in 1520, aiming at nothing less than the succession to St. Peter's chair, he immediately despatched a secretary with proper instructions to Rome; at the same time assuring both Charles and Francis by letter, that if he succeeded in the object of his application, they should meet with the most friendly retribution. The former of these princes, indeed, was bound by repeated promises to assist him in procuring the papacy: but before the messenger arrived at Rome, the election had fallen on Adrian Bishop of Tortosa, who had been the Emperor's tutor; though Wolsey upon three successive scrutinies had nine, twelve, and nineteen voices.

Chagrined as he must naturally have been at this duplicity, he yet smothered his resentment for the present, accepted the excuses of Charles on his second visit to England; and, upon the death of Adrian VI. in 1523, applied again for his interest, which was positively engaged to him for the next vacancy. But though this application was seconded

by a commendatory letter under Henry's own hand, and Wolsey, knowing the power of gold over the conclave, had taken care not to leave that mighty engine unemployed, his hopes were destined to undergo a second disappointment. This was owing principally to his reliance upon the Emperor, who never intended that he should be Pope, though he had settled an annual pension upon him, and at different times treated him with the utmost complaisance and distinction.\*

In 1521, in an assembly of prelates and clergy held at York-House, the doctrines of Luther were condemned: forty-two of his errors were enumerated; and Wolsey, after publishing the papal bull against Luther, ordered all persons, under pain of excommunication, to bring in such books of that heretic as were then in their hands. Notwithstanding this however it appears, from an article of his impeachment, that he was no persecutor; for he was accused of having, by his remissness, permitted Lutheranism to gain ground.

His pride and ostentation, together with his unbounded power, raised him many powerful enemies, especially among the nobility, whom he affected to treat with arrogance and contempt. This behaviour was openly resented by Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, the only courtier who ventured to oppose him. Him therefore Wolsey resolved to sacrifice, apprehending that his discontent might otherwise eventually produce some effect upon the King. Buckingham was one of the greatest subjects of the king-

\* He frequently stiled him, in his letters, "Our most dear and special friend."



dom, extremely beloved by the people, and as Hereditary High-Constable of England in possession of a post, which empowered him to control the actions even of his sovereign. This office was abolished at his death, and was perhaps one chief cause of hastening that event; for Henry had frequently expressed his jealousy of its authority. The ceremonial, indeed, observed by him at the coronation had been exceedingly disgusting to this arbitrary prince. It was customary for the Constable to receive a sword from the king, which he held in his hand pronouncing aloud, "With this sword I will defend thee against all thine enemies, if thou governest according to law; and with this sword I and the people of England will depose thee, if thou breakest thy coronation-oath." The Duke having imprudently asserted in private company, that if the king should die without issue, he would claim the crown as the descendent of Anne of Gloucester, grand-daughter to Edward III., in which case he would punish Wolsey according to his demerits; the Cardinal by his spies discovered that he corresponded with one Hopkins, a monk and pretended prophet, who had given him hopes of succeeding to the throne. This indiscretion combined with the nature of his office, and his public disapprobation of Wolsey, to revive Henry's suspicions. Wolsey having collected materials for an impeachment, and deprived the duke of his two principal friends (the Earl of Northumberland his father-in-law, whom on a slight pretext he had committed to the Tower, and the Earl of Surrey his son-in-law, whom he had sent governor to Ireland) caused him to be arrested, and accused of high-treason. Of this he was convicted

by a thin and partial house of peers, and speedily paid the forfeit with his head. Thenceforth his priestly adversary lost his little remaining credit with the people of England, who openly libelled him for this act of tyrannic cruelty. The Emperor also, upon hearing of the Duke's death, exclaimed, "that the butcher's dog had worried the fairest hart in England."

At this period, Charles and Francis having made Henry the umpire of their long-protracted quarrel, he empowered the Cardinal, as his representative, to treat with the plenipotentiaries of the contending princes at Calais. The conferences were opened on the fourth of August; but Wolsey countenanced imperial demands of such an extravagant description, that the French ministers rejected them: upon which the English minister paid a visit to Charles at Bruges,\* and being received with all the honours due to royalty, in his master's name, concluded with him an offensive alliance. Henry engaged to invade France the following summer with 40,000 men, and betrothed to the Emperor the Princess Mary, his only child: an arrangement not only contrary to the true interests of the kingdom, but having a tendency likewise to render it eventually dependent upon that Monarch, by consigning to him the heiress of the English crown. War was, accordingly, declared against France in 1522. But this shameful treaty proved ultimately one cause of the Cardinal's disgrace: for in order to maintain the incidental charges of the

\* "He was saluted at the entering into the town of a merry fellow which said, *Salve rex regis tui atque regni sui*, 'Hail both king of thy king, and also of his realm.'" (Tindal's *Works*, p. 370.)

war, the King by his favourite's advice exacted a general loan from his subjects, amounting to one-tenth of the effects of the laity, and one-fourth of those of the clergy. This, says Rapin, excited general clamours against the Cardinal throughout the kingdom; but, on the tax being more gently levied than had been originally intended, the storm for awhile blew over, though another circumstance occasioned some fruitless complaints against him.

Among other branches of erudition, he founded the first Greek Professorship at Oxford:\* but not thinking that a sufficient mark of his esteem, in 1525 he determined to build a college, and to furnish it with copies of all the manuscripts in the Vatican, as a lasting monument of his gratitude to the seminary in which he had received his education; and having obtained the royal assent, he laid the first stone of the magnificent structure, then called Cardinal, but now Christ's College,† Oxford, with a super-

\* He had previously, in 1519, founded at the same university a public lecture in rhetoric and humanity, and endowed both these establishments with considerable stipends. Four or five years afterward, Robert Wakefield opened a public lecture for the learned languages at Cambridge, on the suggestion of Henry VIII.; and there also Robert Barnes prior of the Augustines, assisted by his pupil Thomas Parnell, elucidated Plautus, Terence, and Cicero, within the precincts of his own monastery; while Erasmus, the fourth Lady Margaret's Professor, expounded to the students at large the Grammar of Chrysoloras.

† Or Christ-Church. On the gate-house at the entrance into the college, he set his own arms above the King's. At this, says Fuller, "Henry took just offence. This was no verbal, but a real *Ego et Rex meus*, excusable by no plea in manners or grammar, except only by (that which is rather fault, than figure.)

scription in honour of the founder: erecting at the same time a grammar-school at Ipswich, the place of his nativity, to qualify young scholars for admittance to it. But in the prosecution of these schemes, he struck upon a dangerous rock; for having raised his college on the scite of a dissolved priory, bestowed upon him by the King for that purpose, he farther procured authority to suppress several monasteries in different parts of the kingdom, with a view of providing funds to support his new society. The Pope's bulls indeed, which were transmitted to confirm these grants, had frequently lent their sanction to much heavier offences: nevertheless, his seizing upon the revenues of religious houses was regarded as sacrilege; and the King for the first time openly approving the popular discontent, several satires were published against him. It does not appear, however, that he thought it worth his while to inquire after any of the authors: though Skelton, the poet-laureat,

a harsh downright *Hysterosis*: but to humble the Cardinal's pride, some afterward set up on a window a painted mastiff-dog gnawing the spine-bone of a shoulder of mutton, to mind the Cardinal of his extraction, being the son of a butcher; it being utterly improbable, as some have fancied, that that picture was placed there by the Cardinal's own appointment, to be to him a monitor of humility." (*Church-History*.)

Wolsey founded also lectures at Oxford in theology, civil law, physic, philosophy, and mathematics; all "swallowed up (as Dr. Fiddes observes) in the ruins of that great man, and in the devastation which after his fall was made of things appropriated to pious uses. Whence it appears that, whatever salaries he paid these lecturers, yet he never settled any estate upon the lectureships by deed; which perhaps was observed by Archbishop Laud, who happily by such a deed preserved his Arabic lecture from falling a sacrifice." (*Life of Wolsey*.)

was so apprehensive on account of some scurrilous verses which he had written upon the occasion, that he took refuge in the sanctuary, in order to avoid the Cardinal's resentment.

Fortunately, about this time, Wolsey gained a fresh ascendancy over his sovereign by an occurrence which was known only to a few individuals. The daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, or Bullen, had recently been introduced at the English court. This young lady having been formerly in the service of Henry's sister, the Queen of France, was received by Queen Katharine as one of her maids of honour. The King no sooner saw her, it is said, than he was struck with her beauty. His passion however lay concealed for some time, and was first discovered by the following accident :

Wolsey's revenue and manner of living equalled, in all respects, the circumstances and the state of a prince. His household consisted of eight hundred persons, many of whom were knights and gentlemen ; and even some of the nobility, with a view of educating their children, suffered them to bear offices in his family as domestics. Among these was the Earl of Northumberland, whose son Lord Percy, in his attendance upon the Cardinal, having frequent opportunities of conversing with the ladies of the court, addressed Anne Boleyn in particular with such success, that in the end they were privately affianced to each other. Their amour at last reached the King's ear, upon which the violence of his temper immediately broke out. He ordered Wolsey to remonstrate with the Earl of Northumberland ; and the young nobleman being severely rebuked by his father for the indiscretion of which he had been guilty,

the affair terminated in a formal dissolution of the contract, the marriage of the young lover to a daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury, and the dismissal of Anne Boleyn to her relations in the country. Henry, however, could not long bear her out of his sight. She was, therefore, speedily recalled from her banishment: but, prior to that event, a remarkable circumstance occurred, which gave rise to the subsequent proceedings in relation to the divorce, and was another cause of the Cardinal's disgrace.

In 1527, ambassadors arrived from France, for the purpose of completing some negociations between Henry, who had abandoned the Emperor's party, and the French King. One of these was, that Francis, or his son the Duke of Orleans, should espouse the Princess Mary. The commissioners had adjusted every thing to the mutual satisfaction of all parties; when the Bishop of Tarboe, one of the French plenipotentiaries, expressed his doubts upon the Princess' legitimacy, on account of her being the daughter of Katharine, who had formerly been married to Prince Arthur. Whether or not this objection was suggested by previous agreement, in order to serve the King's secret views, he certainly made a handle of it; and from this time openly avowing his affections to Anne Boleyn, the courtiers worshipped her as the rising sun, through whose influence alone the royal favour was to be cultivated.

Wolsey very probably at first thought his master meditated only that species of criminal intercourse, with respect to which, it is well known, his Eminence entertained not the most correct notions.—He bowed therefore with the crowd, and left nothing untried which might engage the new mistress in his

interest: but when he found the King, unable to gain his end upon any other terms than those of wedlock, had determined at all events to gratify his passion, there was no species of argument or entreaty which he did not use, repeating his prayers and supplications even upon his knees. This zeal however was far from being pleasing to Henry, who could not endure any thing like restraint; and it may also account for the ill-will, which Anne Boleyn subsequently bore the Cardinal: though, upon her second appearance in the royal family, she for some time behaved very courteously to him, and wrote him several kind and respectful letters, which are still extant.

It is not surprising, that his secret enemies should embrace this opportunity of undermining one, whom they durst not openly attack; for it was dangerous to interfere with Henry, in cases where his prepossessions were to be removed. They pitched upon Anne Boleyn, therefore (whose dislike of Wolsey they were not unacquainted with) as their most powerful engine: and, an occasion offering shortly afterward to separate the minister from his master, they did not neglect to improve the advantage. The wars in Italy had, during this year, been carried to great extremity. The city of Rome had been sacked by German soldiers; and Clement VII. was actually a captive in the Emperor's hands. Upon this occasion, the Cardinal having distinguished himself in several embassies to foreign princes, his foes in the council proposed that he should be sent ambassador to the court of France to mediate for his Holiness' release, as well as to settle some other matters more immediately relative to the English interests.

Whether Wolsey was aware of the plot laid against him or not, is uncertain. He had, undoubtedly, an eager desire to serve the Roman pontiff; and he perhaps thought himself too firmly riveted in his sovereign's esteem, to be shaken by the cabals of a faction. Be that as it may, on the eleventh of July he left London with a numerous and splendid retinue, the furniture of the mule on which he himself rode being richly embroidered with bits and stirrups of massy gold; concluded a most advantageous treaty with France; was entertained on the Continent with a magnificence scarcely to be paralleled; and returning home, after an absence of two months, in spite of the intrigues of his enemies during his absence was received by his royal master with the warmest tokens of approbation.

Henry's attachment to him, indeed, seemed greatly to have increased; for, beside acknowledging his services upon this emergency in a letter under his hand and seal, he was pleased to appoint a public thanksgiving on the occasion, repairing himself with his Queen and numbers of the nobility to St. Paul's Church; and afterward, in grand procession, to dine with the Cardinal. In consequence of this embassy also, he bestowed upon him the rich bishopric of Winchester; and on the sickness of Clement VII., when the legate's ambition was a third time directed to the triple crown, recommended him so strenuously, that no doubt can reasonably be entertained of his sincere desire to have raised him to the popedom. Had not his Holiness indeed unexpectedly recovered, it is highly probable that the Cardinal of York would at this time have attained the object of his wishes.



Not many weeks afterward, the French King sent ambassadors to Henry, in order to ratify the treaties negotiated between the two crowns. Wolsey took upon him to regulate the reception given to these foreigners; and certainly, if we may credit the report of Cavendish, who was an eye-witness of all that passed during their stay in England, they were entertained with a degree of sumptuousness unknown to modern times. Banquets, balls, and tournaments distinguished every day; and, as it was one of the last efforts of his ministerial splendor, we insert the particulars of one of the magnificent entertainments given by him at Hampton-Court upon this occasion. The Cardinal having commanded his purveyors to spare no expense or pains, the appointed day being come, the company assembled about noon, from which time till that of supper they hunted in one of the King's parks within three miles of Hampton. On their return, which was not till evening, every person was conveyed to a different apartment; each being furnished with fire and wine, and no less than two hundred and eighty beds in the whole, where they staid till they were summoned to the banqueting-rooms.

These were all set out in a very splendid manner, being hung with cloth of gold and silver, and having rich lustres descending from the ceilings, with large sconces of silver gilt and filled with wax-lights, which were fixed against the walls. But the presence-chamber exceeded all the rest, where was fixed a sumptuous canopy, under which was the table placed by itself for the Cardinal. Here were the great buffets and side-boards loaded with gold and silver plate, which cast such a brightness by the re-

flexion of the tapers, as was quite astonishing: here also the gentlemen of the Cardinal's household richly dressed waited to serve, and all things thus prepared, the trumpets being sounded, the guests came in to supper; which consisted of such abundance, both of different meats and cookery, as surprised the French ambassadors, who were so charmed with the splendor of what they saw, and the sweetness of the music they heard playing on every side of them, that they seemed "rapt into a heavenly paradise."

Now, all this time, the Cardinal was absent; but, on the appearance of the second course, he suddenly came in among them booted and spurred. All the company attempted to rise: but his Eminence desiring they would keep their places, he sat down at his own table in his riding-dress, as he was, and grew as merry and agreeable as he ever had been known in his life. This second course must have been the finest thing the Frenchmen ever saw: but the rarest curiosity in it at which they all wondered, and which indeed was worthy of wonder, was a castle with images in the same, like St. Paul's Church for the model of it; where were beasts, birds, fowls, personages most excellently made, "some fighting with swords, some with guns and cross-bows, some dancing with ladies, some on horses in complete harness jousting with long and sharp spears, and many more devices than I am able (adds Cavendish) to describe. Among all one I noted: there was a chess-board made with spiced-plate,\* with men thereof to the same." And because the Frenchmen are very expert at that sport, my Lord Cardinal gave that

\* Query *paste*? W.

same to a French gentleman, commanding that there should be made a good case to convey the same into his country.

Then the Cardinal called for a great gold-cup filled with wine; and pulling off his cap, said, ‘I drink a health to the King my sovereign, and next unto the King your master.’ And when he had taken a hearty draught, he desired the principal ambassador to pledge him. And so all the lords pledged the health in order. Thus was the night spent in great harmony and good humour, till many of the company were obliged to be led to their beds; and the next day having staid to dine with the Cardinal, the ambassadors departed toward Windsor, where they were treated, before their going into their own country, in a manner still more magnificent by the King.

But nothing more plainly proves the degree of royal favour, which Wolsey enjoyed after his last return from France, than the frequent visits paid him by Henry at his palace at Hampton-Court; which in 1528 was completely finished, and elegantly furnished. His Majesty was highly pleased, indeed, both with the situation and the beauty of the edifice;\* upon

\* I think it is Grotius, who says;

“ *Si quis opes nescit—sed quis tamen ille?—Britannas,  
Hamptincurta, tuos consulat ille Lares:  
Contulerit toto cùm sparsa palatia mundo,  
Dicet ‘ibi Reges, hìc habitare Deos.’* ”

#### IMITATED.

Of England’s wealth the proud display,  
Stranger, would’st thou at once survey,  
To Hampton-court repair:  
Then seek each other palace gay,  
Where’er it glitters to the day;  
“ Here Kings reside,” thou’lt surely say,  
“ But Gods inhabit there.”

which the Cardinal generously made him a present of it: and the King, delighted with the gift, bestowed upon him his palace of Richmond in return.

Having thus conducted Wolsey from his birth to the summit of his fortune, we must now follow him down the hill, in which, as it not unusually happens, his progress was still more rapid than it had been even during his ascent.

Queen Katharine's years adding to her temper, which was naturally grave, made her now become more distasteful than ever to King Henry; his passion for Anne Boleyn too, who managed her attractions with the utmost art of coquetry, was greatly augmented: so that fluctuating between the thoughts of a mistress and a wife, Henry was so entangled, that rather than be disappointed of the one, he resolved to rid himself of the other. Fearful however of engaging too far in so weighty a business alone, Wolsey having obtained the King's licence by his own legatine authority summoned all the bishops, with the most learned men of both universities and of several cathedral colleges of the realm, to consult upon his Majesty's case. But as these counsellors thought the matter too nice a point for their decision, application was finally made to the Pope; who, in compliance with the royal request, sent Cardinal Campeggio into England, that he might conjunctively with Wolsey determine, whether Henry's marriage with Katharine was lawful or not. But first the King called an assembly of all the great men in his kingdom, spiritual and temporal, with many others of inferior degree, and in a set speech endeavoured to excuse the meditated proceedings; laying the greatest stress upon the horrors of mind, which he had suffered ever since the doubt stated by the French embassa-

dors. He submitted every thing however, he added, to the wisdom of the Pope's legates, who were authorised by his Holiness to decide this important cause. His measures thus artfully prepared, the legatine court was opened on the twenty-first of June following.

The circumstances of this celebrated trial are well known. The Queen, a woman of resolute mind, protested against the legates as incompetent judges; appealed to her husband for her conjugal fidelity; and quitting the court, would never again enter it. The legates however proceeded according to the forms of law, though she appealed from them to the Pope, and excepted both to the place, the judges, and the lawyers. Henry would not suffer the cause to be removed to Rome. Every attempt made to induce the Queen to comply with his Majesty's pleasure proved fruitless. The public were divided; some pitied Henry, but more had compassion for Katharine: and as Wolsey had now by his pride incurred the universal odium of the people, while the abettors of the divorce charged upon him all the difficulties thrown in it's way, the partisans on the other side as unanimously condemned him for having prompted his master to a measure of such iniquitous barbarity. But of this last charge the Cardinal fully cleared himself, by calling upon his sovereign in open court to attest his innocence; upon which the King declared, that he had invariably advised him against it. This he might do with a safe conscience, as he was actually jealous of Wolsey's being secretly concerned in the protraction of the cause, and had therefore determined to consign him to destruction.

It was apparent indeed, upon the breaking up of the court, that the Cardinal had nothing favourable to

expect from that quarter: for the Duke of Suffolk, by the King's direction, coming toward the bench upon which he and Campeggio were sitting, exclaimed with a haughty tone and a furious countenance, "It was never merry in England, while we had any cardinals among us." \* To which the former calmly replied, "Sir, of all men within this realm, ye have least cause to dispraise cardinals; for if I, poor cardinal, had not been, you should have had at this present no head upon your shoulders." †

On the removal of his cause to Rome, the King was not only enraged, but afflicted: and it was for the purpose of dispelling his melancholy (as Hall, Stow, Rapin, and Burnet affirm) that he resolved upon a progress into the country. He set out accordingly, attended by his royal retinue; and was met at Grafton in Northamptonshire by Wolsey and Campeggio, the latter of whom came to take his leave before he returned into Italy. Previously to this meeting many wagers had been made among the courtiers, that the King would not speak to Wolsey. But, to the great disappointment of his enemies, Henry received him with a smiling countenance: and having talked to him some time aside at the window, said, "Go to your dinner, and take my Lord Cardinal to keep you company, and after dinner I will talk with you farther." Upon which, he retired himself to dine with Anne Boleyn, who accompanied him on his progress: and the cardinals sat down at a table, pre-

\* "The commune *clamat quotidie*, ech a man to other,  
'The contry is the curseder that cardinals comen in.'"

(Visions of Pier's Ploughman.)

† Alluding to the Duke's marriage with the King's sister, by which Henry had at first been heavily offended.

passed in the presence-chamber for them and the other lords. There is something curious in the account, which Cavendish has preserved from one of the persons who waited at table, of the discourse between the King and his mistress upon this occasion. It referred to Wolsey; and Anne Boleyn saying, "Sir, is it not a marvellous thing, to see what debt and danger he hath brought you in with all your subjects?" "How so, sweetheart?" asked the King. "Forsooth," replied she, "there is not a man within all your realm, worth five pounds, but he hath indebted you to him." This she said, because the King had formerly by Wolsey's advice raised money on the people through the very unpopular measure of a loan; but Henry exculpated his minister, rejoining, "Well, as for that there was in him no blame; for I know that matter better than you, or any other." "Nay, Sir," cried the lady, "beside that, what things hath he wrought within this realm to your great slander! There is never a nobleman, but if he had done half so much as he hath done, he were well worthy to lose his head. Yea, if my lord of Norfolk, my lord of Suffolk, or my lord my father had done much less, they should have lost their heads ere this." "Then I perceive," said the King, "you are not the Cardinal's friend." "Why, Sir," answered she, "I have no cause, nor any that loveth you; no more has your Grace, if ye consider well his doings." During this conversation in the royal chamber, Wolsey was treated with little less asperity by the Duke of Norfolk without: so that every hand appeared ready to pull down a falling favourite, though the King, to the great annoyance of many of his courtiers, consulted with him four hours that same evening. At night how-

ever, when the Cardinal's servants came to prepare a lodging for him, they were told there was no room : so that he was obliged to sleep at the house of one Mr. Empson, at some distance in the country ; and in the morning, when in obedience to his Majesty's commands he attended the court, he found him just ready to mount his horse, and was coldly ordered by him to consult with the lords of the council. This was contrived by Anne Boleyn, who rode out with the King, and in order to prevent his returning before Wolsey's departure, had provided an entertainment for him at Hanwell-Park.

Convinced as he was by this unkind separation, that all his prosperity was at an end, the Cardinal was too wise to expose himself to the raillery of the courtiers, by appearing humbled or terrified at his approaching disgrace. Immediately after dinner he set out with his colleague for London, whence in a few days Campeggio took his journey to Rome. But a report prevailing, that he was secretly conveying abroad in his baggage a considerable treasure belonging to Wolsey, the Custom-House officers by the royal order stopped him at Dover, and made so thorough a search, that the legate complained of the insult offered to his character. This however only drew down upon him a rebuke from the King, for having dared to assume any character in his dominions without his particular licence ; so that the Italian was glad to be permitted to leave England without farther molestation.

It was now term-time, and Wolsey for the last time proceeded in his usual state to open the court of chancery. In October 1529, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk came to his house at Westmin-



ster, and in the King's name demanded the great seal: at the same time ordering him immediately to depart to his seat at Esher. But he told their lordships, that he held the place of Chancellor by patent for life, and that as he had received the seal from his Majesty's own hands, into those alone he would deliver it. By this positive refusal the noble envoys were deeply offended. On their returning the next day however, with Henry's peremptory command upon the subject, he complied; though not without some sharp reflexions on the conduct of the two dukes, who with good grounds were suspected to have had the principal hand in his ruin.

The fatal business thus commenced, the Cardinal proceeded with the utmost coolness and submission. He called all his officers before him, ordered an immediate inventory to be taken of his whole property, and the several moveables being arranged in an extensive gallery and the chamber adjoining, left them all for the King. His treasury, indeed, resembled that of an Eastern monarch, rather than that of an European subject: consisting of an infinite variety of rich stuffs, with cloths and silks of all colours and manufactures; a thousand pieces of Holland, beside his hangings of gold and silver arras, and the magnificent robes and coats which he had bought for the use of his two colleges at Oxford and Ipswich. But these were trifles, compared with what was to be seen in his chambers: there were placed very large tables wholly covered with plate, a great part of which was solid gold, all the rest of his goods and furniture bearing an equal proportion; so that his known opulence, very probably, was no small inducement to the persecution

against him. All things thus settled, he prepared to withdraw to Esher; but just as he was setting off, Sir William Gascoigne his treasurer informed him, it was rumoured abroad that he was to proceed to the Tower: upon which he replied, expressing at the same time some dissatisfaction at his unkindness in reporting to him every light story, "that he had done nothing to deserve imprisonment; but, having received all he possessed of the King, it was but reasonable that he should return it to him again."

He then took boat, having with him most of his servants with some furniture and provisions, and directed his course toward Putney. Upon this occasion, the Thames was crowded with spectators on both sides; and a great number of boats were filled with persons, hoping to see him carried to the Tower, who during his prosperity had followed him with acclamations and blessings.\* Having landed at Putney, he immediately mounted his mule, his attendants being on horseback: but he had scarcely reached the foot of the hill beyond the town, when he was overtaken by Sir John Norris, one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber, who saluting his Eminence in the sovereign's name, told him "he was sent express to assure him, that he was as much in the royal favour as ever: that this disgrace was only to serve a turn, and please some particular people; bidding him to be of good courage, for as his Majesty was able, so he was willing, to make up

\* And so it has ever been :

——— *Sed quid*

*Turba Remi? Sequitur fortunam, ut semper, et odit*

*Damnatos !"*

(Juv. Sat. x.)

all his losses." Surprised at the joyful news, the Cardinal immediately quitted his mule, and falling upon his knees in the highway, betrayed an unmanly extravagance of transport. He pulled off his hat, praised the King's goodness, and repeatedly embraced the bearer of the happy tidings: after which Norris presented to him a gold ring set with a rich stone, in token of Henry's recovered friendship; and Wolsey in return, taking from about his neck a gold cross, in which a piece of the Holy Cross was said to be enclosed, bestowed it upon Sir John, as a perpetual remembrance of his service. Then, bethinking himself of what would be most acceptable to the monarch, he sent him his fool Patch, whom six of his tallest yeomen were scarcely able to force away, so reluctantly he parted with his old master: and with this present his Majesty appeared highly delighted.

All these great promises, however, eventually came to nothing. The Cardinal, upon reaching his retreat, was suffered to continue there three weeks, without either beds, table-cloths, or dishes to eat his meat upon; neither had he money to buy any: so that he must infallibly have perished, had it not been for the supplies sent to him by the country-people. In these sad circumstances his secretary\* one day told him, that he ought in conscience to consider him and his other attendants, who had never in weal or in woe forsaken him. "Alas! Thomas," said he, "you know I have nothing to give either to you, or to them; which makes me both ashamed, and sorry." After which, by Cromwell's advice, borrowing some

\* Thomas Cromwell, afterward Earl of Essex.

money of his chaplains, upon many of whom he had bestowed considerable benefices, he ordered his servants to be called up before him, and surveyed them for some time with great tenderness, while his silence and the tears which ran down his cheeks testified his inward affliction. At length, perceiving them also weeping bitterly around him, he made them a most affecting speech, lamented that he had not done more for them during his prosperity; but excused himself, at the same time, by the promptitude which his enemies had evinced in observing, that "no office could escape his rapacity." He then deplored his present situation, which had left him only the bare clothes upon his back, thanked them all heartily for their services, and giving them their wages and his blessing, told them they must provide for themselves. After this, most of his servants left him. Cavendish, however, remained about his person, and Cromwell proceeded to take care of his affairs in the metropolis.

And now he began to discover how little the King, notwithstanding his specious pretences, was disposed to be his friend. From the rigorous proceedings indeed commenced against him at law, his Majesty had obviously resolved to have him at his mercy, upon the statute of *præmunire*. But though he had been fully authorised to execute his legatine commission, on the suggestion of several of the lords of the council he declined pleading to the information exhibited against him, and threw himself entirely on the royal mercy. Upon this, judgement was signed. He received assurances however from Henry, that he would not proceed to the utmost rigour of the law; and soon afterward had part of his goods restored to him, and obtained a protection from the King: but still diligent inquiry con-

tinued to be made after all his estates and effects, and whenever any were found, they were immediately confiscated to his Majesty's use.

It seems difficult to reconcile the different parts of Henry's behaviour upon this occasion. Finding Wolsey was no longer his creature, he therefore perhaps discarded him as his favourite: and yet he appears to have been ashamed of his caprice, as he qualified every instance of his severity with some act of pretended tenderness and compassion. Thus in the parliament summoned immediately after the Cardinal's disgrace, when the Lords exhibited forty-four articles of impeachment against him, and the bill through Cromwell's management had been rejected in the Lower House, the King expressed great satisfaction at it; all those articles indeed were built upon so weak a foundation that, Lord Herbert says, no minister was ever displaced with less to allege against him. In some of them, it was made a capital offence to have done several things, which had been sanctioned by the sovereign's licence and in consequence of his express command; and even those, which bore a more plausible appearance, contained at the utmost mere trifles, and might be deemed errors rather than crimes. But though this ill-supported impeachment fell to the ground, and his Majesty in one of his relenting fits granted him the most ample of pardons, his ill fortune still continued to pursue him; nor would his hard-hearted master be satisfied, so long as he had any thing left, which it was possible to wring from his grasp.

Henry first insisted upon his signing a resignation of York-House. He next compelled him to make over, by deed of gift, the revenues of the bishopric of

Winchester; and then refused to pay his debts, or to allow him sufficient to subsist upon: so that, harassed and worn out by these successive vexations, Wolsey at length fell dangerously ill of a fever. When his indisposition however was mentioned at court, the King inconsistently expressed the greatest uneasiness; declared he would not lose him for twenty thousand pounds; ordered one of his own physicians to attend him; and being told that nothing was so likely to promote his recovery as some mark of his royal favour, not only sent him a ring containing his own picture engraved upon a ruby, but also made Anne Boleyn take the tablet of gold from her side, and with many obliging expressions entreat his acceptance of it, as a token of her esteem and affection. Yet Wolsey was no sooner convalescent, than the prospect resumed all its gloom: Henry dissolved both his colleges, though in the humblest and most earnest manner he besought him to spare them: and the Cardinal having in his prosperity, at a great expense, built himself a tomb, which was not finished at the time of his fall, his Majesty seized that also; nor would he be prevailed upon to restore it, though his old favourite begged it of him in the moving term of a burying-place, which, "on account of his great heaviness (he said) he was soon likely to want." Henry, however, was not equally inflexible to all his requests; for Wolsey representing about this time, that the air of Esher was prejudicial to his constitution, he was immediately permitted to remove to Richmond, and a sum of money was issued from the Treasury to render his circumstances somewhat more easy.

His removal to Richmond gave great alarm to his enemies. They disliked the proximity of that place

to the court, and were in continual fear lest their fickle prince should relapse into his former attachment. They determined, therefore, to move him to a greater distance; and considering his diocese in the North as the most suitable for his future residence, they found no difficulty in procuring an order from the King for that purpose. The poor Cardinal in vain solicited leave to retire to Winchester. No spot nearer than Yorkshire was allowed; and as he protracted his departure, on account of his want of money, and because there was no exact time fixed for his journey, the Duke of Norfolk one day meeting his secretary Cromwell said to him, "Go, tell thy master, that unless he quickly removes toward the North, I will tear him to pieces with my teeth." Which being repeated to the Cardinal; "Then," cried he, "it is time for me to be going:" and accordingly he left Richmond a few days afterward, taking the road for his archiepiscopal seat at Cawood.

No sooner was he settled in this place, than he wholly gave himself up to devotion and his pastoral charge; making daily distributions to the poor, and keeping a hospitable table for all comers. His custom was, to visit all the little parish-churches in the vicinity, in which one of his chaplains generally preached; and occasionally he dined at a farmer's house, where he was constantly surrounded with a great number of indigent people, whom he conversed with and relieved.\* Finding his palace also very much out of repair, he at one time engaged above three hundred workmen in fitting it up: but such

\* See the State-Book, which came out from the office of the King's printer in 1536, entitled 'A Remedy for Sedition,' Signat. E 2.

was the malignity of his enemies at court, that this was interpreted to his disadvantage; as it appears from one of Cromwell's letters, in which he says, "Some there be that do allege your Grace keeps too great a house and family, and that you are continually building: for the love of God, therefore, have respect, and refrain."

In consequence of this admonition, the Cardinal began to contract his manner of living: but his adversaries, resolved upon his destruction, transferred their criminations to the preparatives which, in some measure without his knowledge, the dean and chapter of his cathedral were making for his solemn installation. These were, indeed, of such reported magnificence, that for a week before the day appointed for the ceremony, people from all parts of the kingdom crowded out of curiosity to the city of York.

An accident at this time took place, which showed that Wolsey was the slave of superstition. "On All-Saints' Day, the Cardinal being at dinner with his chaplains, Dr. Augustine a physician, clothed with a very heavy velvet gown, in rising up pushed against the Cardinal's silver cross placed at the corner of the table, which fell so heavy upon the head of Dr. Bonnor, that the blood came trickling down. Upon this the Cardinal immediately retired to his chamber, and shaking his head said, '*Malum omen*;'\*" which he afterward interpreted to Cavendish upon his death-bed, telling him, that 'the cross represented his person; Dr. Augustine, who threw it down, his enemy and informer: and the chaplain

\* A parallel anticipation of Archbishop Laud's, founded upon some Surrey churches struck by lightning, is recorded by Dr. Wordsworth, *Eccl. Biogr.* l. 509.



being wounded imported, that his power was at an end, and death would quickly ensue.” These words, when the Earl of Northumberland and Sir Walter Walsh arrived at Cawood to arrest him, were considered by weak men as a prophecy, though in fact they amounted to little more than the well-grounded apprehensions of a fallen statesman.

The Earl and Sir Walter attended by a body of horse, which plainly bespoke their commission, proceeded immediately into the hall, and demanded from the porter his keys. The man, astonished at their request, refused to deliver them without his master's order. To prevent disturbance, therefore, they contented themselves with taking an oath from him, “That no person should go out or come in till he received farther directions.” The Cardinal all this while remained ignorant of what passed below; till one of the servants found means to apprise him, that the Earl of Northumberland was in the hall. Wolsey, who was then at dinner, conceiving it to be merely a friendly visit from his old pupil, immediately rose from table, and went down stairs to meet the Earl; expressed his concern not to have received notice of his intention, that he might have given him a better reception; and taking him by the hand led him to his apartment, the Earl's gentleman following, where as they were conversing aside in a window, Northumberland said, “My Lord, I arrest you for high-treason.” Upon this, Wolsey demanded to see his authority; and, the Earl refusing to produce his commission, declared he would not submit to his arrest. Sir Walter Walsh however coming up during the debate, and repeating what the Earl had before stated, he instantly surrendered himself.

As soon as the country-people were informed of this transaction, they surrounded the palace with expressions of the deepest sorrow, as the Cardinal had always been the protector and friend of the poor; and upon his setting off on his journey to London followed him for several miles, till he desired them to depart and be patient, for that he feared not his enemies, but entirely submitted himself to the will of Heaven. The first night he lodged at Pontefract-Abbey, the next with the Black Friars at Doncaster, and the night following at Sheffield-Park, where he remained eighteen days. Here he was kindly entertained by the Earl of Shrewsbury, and had great respect shown him by the neighbouring gentlemen, who flocked in to visit him. But as he sat one day at dinner, he was taken extremely ill with a sudden coldness at his stomach. Apprehending this to be an oppression occasioned by wind, he immediately sent to an apothecary for some medicine to expel it, and received a little present relief. But if he was not then poisoned (as some imagined) either by himself or others, this disorder it appears, from whatever it originated, was the cause of his death; for he was in so languishing a condition when Sir William Kingston, Lieutenant of the Tower, arrived to take him into custody and attend him to London, that he was hardly able to walk across his chamber. This circumstance too, of being consigned to the Lieutenant of the Tower, gave a considerable shock to his weakened frame; for when the Earl of Shrewsbury ordered Cavendish to inform him of that officer's arrival in the most delicate manner, he smote his thigh, and with a heavy sigh exclaimed, "I now see what is preparing for me." This expression, as importing a dread

of public execution, seems wholly to negative the idea of his having poisoned himself. Ill however as he was, he left the Earl of Shrewsbury's the following morning, and by easy progress reached another seat of his Lordship's that night.

Thus he continued three days making short journeys, till he arrived at Leicester-Abbey. Here the Abbot and the whole convent received him in the court with the utmost reverence; but the Cardinal only said, "Father Abbot, I am come to lay my bones among you;" and continuing on his mule to the foot of the stairs which led to his chamber, he was with much difficulty helped up and put to bed.

This was on Saturday the twenty-fifth of November, and on the Monday following his illness had so far increased, that in the general opinion of his attendants it was impossible he could long survive. On Tuesday morning early Sir William Kingston entered his room, and inquiring how he had rested, he devoutly replied, "I only wait the pleasure of Heaven to render my poor soul into the hands of my Creator." After this, having spent about an hour at confession, upon a second visit from Kingston, finding his dissolution at hand, he said, "I pray you have me heartily recommended to his royal Majesty, and beseech him on my behalf to call to his remembrance all matters that have passed between us from the beginning, especially with regard to his business with the queen;\* and then will he know in his conscience, whether I have offended him. He is a prince of a most royal

\* The charge however, frequently urged against Wolsey (that through his intrigues Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, suggested scruples to Henry upon the subject, as his 'ghostly father') appears from a note of Dr. Wordsworth's to be unfounded. (*Eccl. Biogr.* I. 428.)

carriage, and hath a princely heart; and, rather than he will miss or want any part of his will, he will endanger the one-half of his kingdom. I do assure you, that I have often kneeled before him, sometimes three hours together, to persuade him from his will and appetite, but could not prevail. *Had I but served God as diligently as I have served the King, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs:* but this is the just reward that I must receive for my indulgent pains and study, not regarding my service to God, but only to my prince. Therefore let me advise you, if you be one of the privy-council, as by your wisdom you are fit, take care what you put into the King's head; for you can never put it out again." He then, after a very severe warning against the Lutherans, added, "Mr. Kingston, farewell; I wish all things may have good success; my time draweth on fast." His speech now failed him, and he died about eight o'clock, the guards having been called in to see him expire. After his death he was laid in an oaken coffin with his face uncovered, that every one might be permitted to view him; and, early in the morning on St. Andrew's Day, he was buried in the middle of one of the Abbey-Chapels.

In person, the Cardinal was tall and comely, and in air and manner extremely graceful; but he had a blemish in one of his eyes, upon which account he was always painted in profile.\* As a statesman, his

\* *Imagine luscâ*, if that be the true meaning of the Latin. (Letter from Dr. Smith to Mr. Hearne.) "That which is carved in wood," says Granger, "in the central board of the gateway, which leads to the Butchery of Ipswich, has such an appearance of antiquity, that it is supposed to have been done when he was living: by the side of it, is a butcher's knife."—"The blemish or loss of his eye has been imputed, perhaps falsely, to an infamous distemper."

abilities were extraordinary, and under his administration England became formidable to all the powers of Europe. But in his foreign negotiations, it must be acknowledged, he was frequently influenced by his own private views.

In strong vindication of his character it has been urged, that the latter part of Henry's reign was more criminal than its commencement: "but it may be doubted (says Lord Herbert) whether the impressions he gave did not occasion divers irregularities which were observed to follow: for he had made it a rule to submit implicitly to the King's pleasure, and had taught him that pernicious doctrine, that no law had the force to curb his prerogative, which increased Henry's arbitrary disposition."

In prosperity, Wolsey was proud and haughty; in adversity, abject and pusillanimous. His vices were of that description, which most disgraced his sacred profession. At the same time, his virtues were of the public kind; for he greatly promoted and encouraged literature,\* patronised and cultivated the polite and useful arts, and was in general a liberal friend to the poor.

"His ambition," says Lloyd in his 'British Worthies,' "gave him the opportunity to increase his parts: he was as pregnant at Ipswich School, as he was promising in Magdalen College."—"At Oxford he read books, at my Lord's (of Dorset) he read men and observed things. His patron's two parsonages bestowed upon him was not so great a favour, as the excellent principles instilled into him;

\* Of his early intimacy with Erasmus, and its gradual decay as Wolsey rose to honours which opened between him and the sage scholar an impassable gulf, Chalmers has given a masterly account in his 'History of the University of Oxford.'

he being not more careful to instruct and educate the young men, than their father was to tutor him : his bounty makes him rich, and his recommendations potent : his interest went far, and his money farther. Bishop Fox was Secretary to King Henry VIII., and he to Bishop Fox : the one was not a greater favourite of the King's, than the other was his ; as one that brought him a head capable of all observations, and a spirit above all difficulties. Others managed the affairs of England, Wolsey undertook it's interest : his correspondence was good abroad ; his observations close, deep, and continued at home : he improved what he knew, and bought what he knew not. Being a master of so happy a reservedness as to what he understood not, that in all these varieties of things that tried his parts, he never came under the reproof of Megabyses, to whom Apelles said ; “ Whilst thou wast silent, thou seemed'st to be somebody, but now there is not the meanest boy that grindeth ochre, but he laugheth at thee.” And as he was reserved in his speech, so he was moderate in his carriage, till the success of lesser actions flushed him for greater.

“ Too sudden prosperity in the beginning undoeth us in the end : while we expect all things flowing upon us at first, we remit our care, and perish by neglecting. Every head cannot bear wine, nor every spirit a fortune. Success eats up circumspection. How many a man had ended better, if he had not begun so well !—*Ego et rex meus* was good grammar for Wolsey, a schoolmaster ; but not for the Cardinal, a statesman. To be humble to superiors, is duty ; to equals, is courtesy ; to inferiors, is nobleness ; and to all, safety : it being a virtue, that for all her lowliness commandeth those souls it stoops to.”

## SIR THOMAS MORE.\*

[1480—1535.]

**B**Y authors, who delight in recording wonders, we are informed that several strange dreams of Sir Thomas More's mother, during her pregnancy, portended his future fortune: but without regarding the legends of superstition, we may truly affirm, that his childhood afforded the liveliest hopes of what his maturer years accomplished. Of this we have a testimony in the behaviour of Cardinal Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury and Chancellor of England; for young More being, according to the custom of those times,† placed in his family for education, his Grace would often say to the nobility who dined with him; "This boy who waits at the table, whosoever lives to see it, will prove a marvellous man."

Thomas More, the son of Sir John More a gentleman of established reputation in the law, was born (according to the best accounts) in 1480, in Milk-

\* **AUTHORITIES.** Hoddesdon's, Warner's, and Cayley's *Life of More*, *Biographia Britannica*, *British Biography*, and Jortin's *Life of Erasmus*.

† Beside the mode of educating youths in religious houses, it was usual to place them in the palaces of the bishops or the castles of the nobility, where they received instruction, and were occasionally employed to swell the retinue of their patrons.

street, London. In 1497 he was sent to Canterbury College,\* Oxford, where he remained two years, and then removed to New-Inn, for the purpose of following his father's profession. On his first entrance upon business, he acquired great reputation at the bar: but taking an early distaste to that mode of life, he suddenly retired to the Charter-House, where resigning himself wholly to devotion, he remained secluded from the world no less than four years. Bigoted to the superstitions and the discipline of monkery, it is said that, like Lady Margaret, he wore a hair-shirt next his skin (which he never afterward, indeed, wholly laid aside) fasted often, and not unfrequently slept upon a plank.

At this time, he had a strong desire to enter into the society of St. Francis; but, his father persisting in his design of making him a lawyer, his filial submission overcame his inclination to the ecclesiastical state. Another motive was his gay and lively temper, and an amorous inclination hardly to be subdued by any austerities; upon which account Dean Colet, his intimate friend and 'ghostly father,' advised him to marry: and accordingly he accepted an invitation from Mr. Colte of Newhall in Essex, to reside some time at his house. This gentleman had three daughters, and in the course of his visit More conceived an affection for the second; though, on being urged by the father to make his choice, he espoused the eldest, merely to spare her the vexation or the disgrace of being passed by. Upon his marriage in 1507 with this lady, who lived with him nearly seven years, he took a house in Bucklersbury, and

\* On the site of which, part of Christ Church now stands.



resumed his practice of the law. What greatly contributed to raise his reputation was this: He was not full two and twenty years of age, when he was elected member of the parliament summoned by Henry VII. in 1503, to grant a subsidy and nine-fifteenths for the marriage of his eldest daughter. This gave him an early opportunity of publicly displaying his talents. For many of the members, through dread of his Majesty's displeasure, making no opposition to this arbitrary claim, More argued with such strength and clearness against it, that it was finally rejected. Mr. Tyler one of the privy-council, who was present when the speech was made, went immediately to the King, and informed him that "a beardless boy had disappointed his purpose." The avaricious prince frustrated in his favourite project, and unable to wreak his resentment upon one who had only performed his duty, meanly revenged himself on his father Sir John, whom he ordered to be imprisoned in the Tower till he had paid a fine of a hundred pounds. And More himself, being apprised by his friend Whitford, Chaplain to Fox Bishop of Winchester, that the court were laying snares to entrap him in his practice as a lawyer, deemed it prudent to decline the profession, and lived in retirement till the King's death.

His retirement,\* however, was of no real disadvantage to him; as he employed his time in studying the French language, history, mathematics, and the

\* In 1508, Erasmus dedicated to him his celebrated 'Encomium of Folly.' From the dedication it appears that Bayle, and after him Jortin and others, erred in stating this piece to have been written two years later, and under More's roof.

(Cayley.)

belles-lettres; so that when he again emerged from his retreat, scarcely any cause of importance was tried, in which both parties did not attempt to retain him; but he never could be tempted, by any fee whatever, to undertake a bad cause. His first preferment was in the city, where he was made Judge of the Sheriff's Court, in 1510; and before he was actually engaged in any concerns of the government, he was twice appointed, with the consent of Henry VIII., agent for the English merchants, in some causes between them and the foreign merchants of the Steel-Yard, in which he acquitted himself with distinguished honour. In 1516, he visited Flanders in the retinue of Bishop Tonsal and Dr. Knight, who were sent by Henry to renew the alliance between himself and the Archduke of Austria, subsequently Charles V. Upon his return Cardinal Wolsey, extremely solicitous to secure him for his Majesty's service, offered him a pension; which however, from his reluctance to exchange the condition of an independent man for that of a courtier, he thought proper to decline. Some time afterward, a large ship belonging to the Pope arriving at Southampton, and Henry claiming it as a forfeiture, More in the royal presence pleaded the cause of his Holiness with so much learning and eloquence, that the vessel was immediately restored. The King would now no longer be induced by any entreaty to dispense with his service, and having no better place at that time vacant, he made him Master of the Requests; conferred on him the honour of knighthood; appointed him one of his privy council; and admitted him to the greatest personal familiarity.

It was a custom with his Majesty, says the author

of the 'British Antiquities,' after he had performed his devotions upon holidays, to send for Sir Thomas More into his closet, and there confer with him about astronomy, geometry, divinity, and other parts of learning, as well as affairs of state. At other times, he would carry him in the night upon the leads at the top of the palace, to be instructed in the variety, the courses, and the motions of the heavenly bodies. But this was not the only use, which Henry made of his new servant. He soon discovered, that he was a man of a cheerful disposition, and had a great fund of wit and humour: and hence he frequently would order him to be sent for, to make him and the Queen 'merry' at supper. Sir Thomas, perceiving that he could not once in a month obtain leave to spend an evening with his wife and children whom he loved, nor be absent from court two days together, grew extremely uneasy at this restraint; and to obviate the cause, began gradually to disuse himself from his former mirth, and somewhat to dissemble his natural temper: thus sacrificing the reputation of wit, in order to recover the command of leisure.

To the year 1520 Wood ascribes the proof, which More gave of his zeal for literature by his Letter on the Study of Greek.\* A serious opposition had been made at Oxford to Grocyn, upon his coming thither to teach that language: a faction of students assumed the name of Trojans, with their Priam and their Hector, &c.; and one of them had even the impudence to attack 'the new learning' from the academical pulpit. More, in a Latin letter addressed

\* This '*Epistola Scholasticis quibusdam Trojanos se appellantes*' was republished by Hearne in 8vo. in 1716.

to them upon the occasion, quoted the example of their sister-university; affirmed that their own Chancellor Warham, Cardinal Wolsey, and the King himself, wished to encourage it; and added, that these ridiculous Trojans would in the end have the old proverb applied to themselves, *Serò sapiunt Phryges*.

The Treasurer of the Exchequer dying in 1520, Henry without any solicitation conferred this office upon More; and within three years afterward, a parliament being summoned to supply money for a war with France, he was elected Speaker of the House of Commons.\* During the sessions, Wolsey was much offended with the Commons, because every thing they said or did was immediately circulated throughout the kingdom: on the other hand, the members alleged that they had an undoubted right to repeat to their friends without doors all that had passed within. It happened, however, that a considerable subsidy being demanded, which the Cardinal apprehended would meet with opposition in the Lower House, he was determined to attend when the motion should be made, in order to prevent it's rejection. The house, apprised of his resolution, debated for some time, whether it would be best to receive him with a few of his lords only, or with his whole train. The major part of the house inclining to the first, the Speaker observed, "Gentlemen, forasmuch as my Lord Cardinal hath not long since laid

\* His speech to the King, on being presented to him for his approbation, was in a strain of servility only to be exceeded by the spirit of the time: and in the subsequent debate upon the subsidy, only half of which was at last voted, the dignity appears to have been displayed by the house, rather than by the Speaker.

to our charge the lightness of our tongues, it shall not in my judgement be amiss to receive him with all his people; that so, if he blame us hereafter for things spoken out of the house, we may lay it upon those that his Grace shall bring with him." The humour of this motion being approved, the Cardinal was received accordingly. When having shown, in a solemn speech, how necessary it was for the King's affairs that the subsidies required should be granted, and finding that not any member evinced the least inclination to comply with his demand, he indignantly observed; "Gentlemen, unless it be the manner of your house to express your minds in such cases by your Speaker, here is without doubt a surprising obstinate silence." Upon which, Sir Thomas reverently on his knees excused the commons, as being abashed at the presence of so exalted a personage; proved that it was not agreeable to their ancient liberty, to return an answer to his Majesty's messages by any other person, how great soever, than some of their own members; and in conclusion told his Eminence, that though as Speaker he was their voice, yet except every one of them could put their several judgements in his head, he alone in so weighty a matter was not able to make a sufficient answer. Irritated by this evasive reply, Wolsey instantly rose and departed.\*

In consequence of this, More being a few days

\* His displeasure was perhaps the greater, as he knew that More had seconded the motion when it was first made: but though that spirited patriot thought the subsidy absolutely necessary for carrying on the war, he made a distinction between the reasonable demands of the King and the insolence of his minister, and therefore played off this farce against him.

afterward in Wolsey's gallery at Whitehall, that prelate complained vehemently of his conduct; and reproaching him for his ingratitude, said, "Would to God you had been at Rome, when I made you Speaker!" To which Sir Thomas replied, "Your Grace not offended, so would I too; for then I should have seen an ancient and famous city, which I have long desired to visit:" and then, to divert him from his ill humour, he began to commend his gallery, and said that he liked it better than his other at Hampton-Court. But, though he thus checked the Cardinal's reproaches, he did not cool his resentment: for on the breaking up of the parliament, Wolsey persuaded the King to name him ambassador to Spain, purely with a view of doing him a discourtesy, by sending him into a country which he knew would be disagreeable to him. When his Majesty however communicated to him his design, More took the liberty to remonstrate on account of the climate so strongly yet so modestly against it, that with unusual condescension Henry assured him his meaning was not to hurt him, but to do him good; and he, therefore, would employ him another way. Accordingly, upon the death of Sir Richard Wingfield in 1528, Sir Thomas was appointed Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, twice employed jointly with Wolsey in foreign embassies (once to the Emperor Charles in Flanders, and again in France) and admitted generally into such a high degree of favour, that his Majesty would frequently call upon him at Chelsea without any previous notice, in order to enjoy his conversation on common affairs.

Having one day made him an unexpected visit of this kind to dinner, and having walked with him in

his garden for an hour with his arm about his neck, on his departure Mr. Roper, one of Sir Thomas' sons-in-law, could not help observing to him, "How happy he must be, to have his Prince distinguish him in so particular a manner." To which he replied, "I thank our Lord, son Roper, I find his Grace to be my very good master indeed, and I believe that he does as much favour me at present as any subject within this realm: but yet I may tell thee, son, I have no cause to be proud of it; for, if my head would win him a castle in France (with which kingdom Henry was then at war) it would not fail to be struck off my shoulders."

It was observed of More, that the ignorant and the proud, even in the highest station, were those whom he respected the least; while, on the other hand, he was the patron and the friend of every man of letters, and held almost a continual correspondence with all the literati in Europe. Among foreigners, Erasmus appears to have possessed the largest share of his love and confidence; and after a series of letters, expressive of their mutual esteem, that great man made a voyage to England, for the sole purpose of forming a personal acquaintance with him.

A story is told of their first interview, which would hardly deserve to be recorded, if it were not related of two such eminent scholars. The person who conducted Erasmus to London, it seems, had contrived that Sir Thomas and he should unconsciously meet at the Lord Mayor's table, in those days open at all times to men of learning; when, a dispute arising at dinner, Erasmus in order to display his erudition espoused the wrong side of the question; upon which he was so sharply and ably

opposed by Sir Thomas, that he exclaimed in Latin with some vehemence, "You are either More, or nobody." To this Sir Thomas replied in the same language, with great vivacity, "You are either Erasmus, or the devil." \*

It has been remarked that, of all the servants and favourites of Henry VIII., he never treated any with so much tenderness and good-humour, as More. The answer which he made to the King, when he requested his opinion on the subject of his marriage with Queen Katharine, does honour to his memory. Clark and Tonsal, Bishops of Bath and Durham, with others of the privy-council, having been ordered to consult with him; "To be plain with your Grace," said Sir Thomas, "neither my Lord of Durham, nor my Lord of Bath, nor myself, nor any of your privy-council, being all your servants and greatly indebted to your goodness, are in my judge-

\* Erasmus, however, upon another occasion, had the advantage of his English friend. He had borrowed a horse of More, and took it over to Holland: but instead of returning it to the owner, he sent him the following epigram, alluding to Sir Thomas' argument on the subject of Transubstantiation:

*Quod mihi dixisti  
De corpore Christi,  
' Crede quod edas, et edis ;'  
Sic tibi rescribo  
De tuo palfrido,  
' Crede quod habeas, et habes.'*

IMITATED.

What you firmly, dear Sir,  
Of Christ's body aver—  
' Believe that you eat, and you eat it indeed '  
Suffer me to repeat,  
Nor conclude me a cheat—  
' Believe that you have, and you straight have your steed.'



ment proper counsellors for your Grace upon this point; but, if you please to understand the very truth, you may have counsellors who, neither for respect of their own worldly profit, nor for fear of your princely authority, will deceive you:" and then he named Jerome, Austin, and several other ancient fathers, producing the opinions which he had collected out of their works. Self-willed as Henry was, he did not take this ill of him; and soon afterward, intending to forego farther proceedings in his divorce, he appointed Sir Thomas in 1529, together with his friend Tonsal Bishop of Durham, ambassadors to negotiate a peace between the Emperor, himself, and the King of France. By this, which was concluded at Cambray, More procured so much higher advantages to the kingdom than had been anticipated, that for his eminent services his royal master, on the disgrace of Wolsey, bestowed upon him the great seal.\*

The speech made by the Duke of Norfolk, on conducting him to this lofty station, with More's reply, have been preserved by Stapleton. The latter commemorates the matchless favour of his sovereign (which, however, he does not appear to have regarded as likely to continue steadfast) his own unworthiness and unwillingness to accept so important and responsible a proof of it, the overwhelming burthen of his new charge, and the inglorious ruin into which his predecessor, notwithstanding his singular wisdom, his peculiar acuteness, and his splendid and long-prosperous fortune, had sunk under it. "And

\* October 25, 1529. He is the first lay-chancellor upon record. Those, who affect to say, 'since the reign of Henry II.,' forget that Becket who then bore that office, though he had thrown off the clerical habit, was actually in holy orders.

unless, under these circumstances (he adds) the incredible propension of his Majesty toward me, and the good-will of you all which I gather from your agreeable countenances, recreated and refreshed me, I might stumble at this very entrance and perhaps faint: this seat would not seem pleasanter to me, than did the sword which hung by a horse-hair over the head of Damocles, while he occupied the state-chair of Dionysius in the midst of honours and delicacies. This then will I ever keep in mind, this have alway before my eyes, that this seat will in such degree be honourable to me, full of dignity and splendor, a new and renowned preferment, as I continue with all care and vigilance to administer my high office with fidelity and wisdom, and as I keep in mind that my enjoyment of it may be but short and precarious. The one, my diligence ought to accomplish; the other, the example of my predecessor teach me." And "as they had before charged him (continues Roper) on the King's behalf, uprightly to administer indifferent justice to the people, without corruption or affection; so did he likewise charge them again, that if they saw him at any time in any thing to digress from any part of his duty in that honourable office, even as they would discharge their own duty and fidelity to God and the King, so should they not fail to disclose it to his Grace, who otherwise might have just occasion to lay his fault wholly to their charge."

Upon his entrance on his new office, a surprising change took place: for notwithstanding Wolsey's extraordinary abilities, such was his pride, that he would scarcely notice any of the common rank, and it was difficult without a bribe to his servants to gain admission into his presence; whereas in More it was observed

that, the meaner his suitors were, the more attentively he heard their business, and the more readily he despatched it. It is said that Mr. Dancy, one of his sons-in-law, found fault with him once, between jest and earnest, for this extraordinary condescension; adding, "You are so ready to hear every man, poor as well as rich, that there is no getting any thing under you: whereas, were you otherwise, some for friendship, some for kindred, and some for profit, would gladly have my interest to bring them to you. I know I should do them wrong, if I took any thing from them, because they might as readily prefer their suits to you themselves; but this, though I think it very commendable in you, yet to me, who am your son, I find it not profitable." "You say well, son," cried the Chancellor, "I am glad you are of a conscience so scrupulous; but there are many other ways that I may do good to yourself, and pleasure your friends: and this be assured of upon my faith, that if the parties will call for justice at my hands, then though it were my father, whom I love so dearly, stood on one side, and the devil, whom I hate so extremely, stood on the other, the cause being good, the devil should have it." As a proof, indeed, that he would not for any consideration deviate from justice in the smallest matter, the following instance is decisive: Another of his sons-in-law, Mr. Heron, having a cause depending, was advised to put it into arbitration; but he in the confidence of his father's favour having rejected the proposal, the Chancellor, upon hearing the cause, made a decree directly against him. No subpoena was issued, no order was granted, except what had previously undergone his inspection; and such was his application to business, that after he had occupied

his office about two years, on a cause being finished and another called for, he was told there was not one cause more depending, which he ordered immediately to be recorded.\*

During his chancellorship, his father was one of the oldest Judges in the King's Bench; and, whenever More entered the hall, if that court was sitting, his first step was to kneel down in the sight of every body, and ask the paternal blessing. Upon their occasionally meeting likewise at the readings in Lincoln's Inn, he always offered him the precedence; though, on account of the higher dignity attached to the seals, Sir John as constantly declined accepting it.

Living much at court, a cheerful man, and a man of business, More nevertheless invariably retained a deep impression of religion upon his mind. We are told, in particular, that it was his constant custom, beside his private prayers, to read the Psalms and Litany with his wife and children in a morning; and every night with his whole family to read, in the chapel, the Psalms and the Collects. But that he might now and then retire, even from his family, and shut out the world altogether, he built at some distance from his mansion-house a gallery, a library, and a chapel; where he every day spent some time in study and devotion, employing the whole of his Fridays in such exercises, as he thought might best improve his mind in religious matters. His high offices, which he always executed with a splen-

\* This gave rise to the following epigram:

When More some time had Chancellor been,  
No *more* suits did remain;  
The same shall never *more* be seen,  
Till More be there again.

—A prophecy, not yet falsified!

dor suitable to their dignity, obliged him to keep many servants; but he never suffered any of them to be idle, lest they should acquire a habit of sloth, or gaming, or other profligate courses. Yet let not the reader hence infer, that he was a sour and splenetic philosopher. On the contrary, in his hours of relaxation from business, he delighted in music, and other chaste amusements. He was also a lover of the polite arts, of which we have an instance in his patronage of Hans Holbein, who upon Erasmus' recommendation was retained in his house, till he had painted the portraits of all his family. He, then, took occasion to show his pieces to the King; who, struck with the talent they displayed, instantly inquired whether or not the artist were alive, and to be procured for money? The generous patron replied, by producing Holbein, who was immediately taken into the royal service.

It must be confessed, however, that while Sir Thomas was adorned with the gentlest manners and the purest integrity, he displayed upon many occasions a culpable hostility to what he deemed heresy; \* which

\* " In this very land of liberty, what enormities have not been committed under the sacred names of justice and religion! The wise and pious Sir Thomas More caused the rack to be used in his presence. Cranmer led Arians and Anabaptists to the stake. Under the auspices of Bishop Gardiner, two hundred and seventy-seven Protestants were burnt alive; and, in all these instances, the future damnation of the heretic was believed to be the inevitable consequence of his death. Such were the horrors of religious infatuation! The cloud, which then overspread us, did not stop here. Superstition, unchanging in it's nature, varied only in it's object. In 1593, three persons were executed at Huntingdon for witchcraft; an aged man and woman, and a young woman their daughter. In 1664, two women were exe-

can only be excused upon the principle of conscience, and his general good character. In defence of the

cuted in Suffolk. In 1712 ('the Augustan age of English literature and science, when our country was adorned by a Newton, a Halley, a Swift, a Clarke, and an Addison') a woman was condemned at Hertford: and in 1716 a woman and her daughter, a child of eleven years of age, were executed at Huntingdon:—and to murders like these was the great and good Sir Matthew Hale doomed to lend himself, under the quaint advice of Sir Thomas Browne, one of the first physicians and philosophers of his time, who was devoting his life to the confutation of what he deemed 'Vulgar Errors.'—*And these things were not done in a corner, not in remote provinces, where knowledge was circulating slowly; but at the heart where it beat strongest, within a little space of a learned university, and a day's journey of a great metropolis, and in the midst of a people who said they were of Christ.*" (Montagu's *Opinions of different Authors upon the Punishment of Death*, II. Pref.)

A sad proof of More's intolerance occurs in the case of Bainham, a Templar, recorded by Burnet in his *History of the Reformation*, (I. 165) whom Sir Thomas, it is said, caused to be whipped in his own presence, and afterward tortured in the Tower. "He (More) was a notable tyrant," said old Luther indignantly and justly. "He was one of the bitterest enemies," observes Burnet, "of the new preachers, not without great cruelty when he came into power, though he was otherwise a very good-natured man:" and though, in the opinion of Dr. Jortin, "he had once been free from that bigotry, which grew upon him afterward in life" (one of his first and coolest thoughts indeed, as contained in a maxim of his own *Utopia*, was that 'no man ought to be punished for his religion'); yet, his philosophy, his sagacity, his piety, and his benevolence, did not preserve him from the reigning prejudices of his day against the crime of heresy. They, who will consult Mr. Lysons' excellent work on the *Environs of London*, must be led to many serious reflexions on human infirmity, when they read the wanton cruelties which in More's presence, or even by his own hand, were exercised upon heretics at a tree, which he employed for this very purpose in his garden at Hammersmith. For his holy but barbarous zeal he could easily find pretexts, which disgust and shock us when

Romish faith, he wrote several virulent books against the advocates of the Reformation: an act of zeal so acceptable to the English clergy, that they unanimously agreed, in full convocation, to make him a present of four or five thousand pounds as a recompence for his holy labours. The sum being raised by a general contribution, three bishops were deputed to wait upon him in the name of the whole body, with their warmest acknowledgements, and to entreat his acceptance of this testimony of their gratitude. "It is no small comfort to me," said he, "that such

produced by other apologists for rigour upon other occasions. Thus he writes, in a letter to Erasmus: "*Quòd in Epitaphio profiteor hæreticis me fuisse molestum, hoc ambitiosè feci. Nam omninò sic illud genus hominum odi, ut illis, nisi resipiscant, tam invisus esse velim quàm qui maximè; quippe quos indies magis ac magis experior tales, ut mundo tibi illis vehementer metuam.*" Characters of Fox, by Philop. Varvic.

What must have been the rancour of that *odium theologicum*, which could so far overpower the natural mildness even of a More, one not only of the most accomplished, but also of the most heavenly-minded of men, that few of the religious disputants of his time surpassed him in virulence of abuse, or (to adopt a phrase of his own day) in the talent of "calling bad names in good Latin," &c. (See *Ed. Rev.* xxviii. 373.) a charge, particularly applied to his *Responsio ad Convitia M. Lutheri*, &c. in defence of his sovereign! His attachment to the ancient superstition was so extravagant, that even when Chancellor, he is said to have put on a surplice, and assisted the priest in saying mass in Chelsea-church. Few inquisitors, indeed, have surpassed him in their talent for persecution; and yet he appears to have anticipated the eventual success of the Reformation: "I pray God, son Roper (said he) that some of us, as high as we seem to sit upon the mountains, treading heretics under our feet like ants, live not the day that we would gladly be at league and composition with them, to let them have their churches quietly to themselves, so that they would be contented to let us have ours quietly to ourselves."

wise and learned men so well accepted of my works; but I never will receive any reward for them, but at the hand of God." The bishops, finding that he could not by any means be induced to touch the money, desired leave to present it to his family; "Not so, indeed, my Lords," he replied, "I had rather see it all cast into the Thames, than that I, or any of mine, should have a penny of it: for though your Lordships' offer is very friendly and honourable to me, yet I set so much by my pleasure and so little by my profit, that in good faith I would not for a much larger sum have lost the rest of so many nights as were spent upon these writings; and yet I wish, upon condition that all heresies were suppressed, that all my books were burnt, and my labour entirely lost." Upon which the prelates, perceiving that it was in vain to urge him any longer, desisted from farther importunity.

It has been asserted by many historians, that the King gave the great seal to More, purely with the view of engaging a man so eminent for piety and learning in favour of his divorce from Queen Katharine. But, if this were really his object, he knew very little of the person he had to deal with. Sir Thomas always vowed, that he thought the marriage lawful in the sight of God, as it had once received the sanction of the Apostolic Council: for, though he stood foremost among those who were for abolishing the illegal jurisdiction exercised by the popes in England, he was far from desiring a total rupture with the see of Rome, which he plainly perceived was in the event of Henry's divorce unavoidable. Knowing therefore that he must one way or other, on account of his office, be engaged in the contest, and of course either



offend his conscience or disoblige his prince, he never ceased soliciting his powerful friend the Duke of Norfolk to intercede with his Majesty, that he might be allowed to retire from a station, for which through many infirmities of body he affirmed he was no longer fit : and the Duke at length, yielding to his entreaties, obtained permission for him to resign. But when he waited on Henry for that purpose, the monarch, notwithstanding what he called Sir Thomas' obstinacy with regard to his great affair, expressed much unwillingness to part with so useful a servant ; and giving him many commendations for his admirable execution of a most important trust, assured him that, in any request which he might have occasion to make concerning either his interest or his honour, he should always find the crown ready to assist him.

As More had sustained the office of chancellor for above two years and a half with the utmost wisdom and integrity, so he retired from it with unparalleled dignity ; not being able to defray even the necessary expenses of his private family, after he had divested himself of that employment. About the time of his resignation died, in a very advanced age, his father, whom he frequently visited and comforted in his illness, and to whom he expressed the most filial affection in his last moments. This event, however, brought him a very inconsiderable increase of fortune, as the principal part of Sir John's estate was settled upon his second wife, who out-lived her step-son many years. On delivering up the great seal, he wrote an apology for himself, in which he declared to the public, that all his revenues and pensions derived from his father, his wife, or his own purchase (with the exception of the manors given him by the King) did not

amount to the value of fifty pounds *per ann.* Strange indeed will it sound in this age, that a privy-counsellor who had filled so many high offices for above twenty years, and had been always extremely frugal in his personal and family expenditure, should be able to make such a declaration! But such had been his charity, and such was his contempt of money, that during all that time he never made any provision for himself, or for any branch of his family.

The day after he quitted the chancellorship, while his own family were as yet unapprised of his resignation, he went as usual to Chelsea church with his wife and daughter; and after mass was over (it being customary for one of his gentlemen to inform Lady More, that the Chancellor was gone out of church) he went himself to the pew-door, and making her a low bow said, "Madam, my Lord is gone." She, knowing his humour, took very little notice of this: but, as they were walking home, he told her how matters actually stood; upon which, being a worldly-minded woman, she exclaimed in her accustomed manner, "Tilly vally, what will you do, Mr. More? will you sit and make goslings in the coals? Would to God I were a man, and you should quickly see what I would do! I would not be so foolish to be ruled, where I might rule." "By my faith, wife," he replied, "I believe you speak truth, for I never yet found you willing to be ruled:" and then, making some slight remark upon her dress, he changed the discourse.

The first thing he set about, after the surrender of his office, was to provide places for all his gentlemen and servants among the nobility and the bishops, that they might not be sufferers upon his account. This being done to his satisfaction, he next disposed of

his married children in their own houses; lessening his family by degrees, till he could reduce it within the bounds of his small income, which at the utmost very little exceeded a hundred pounds a year. Nor, had he, after his debts were paid, his chain and a few rings excepted, a hundred pounds in gold and silver remaining.

Resolving now wholly to shun public business for the future, he gave himself up to a domestic life, at his house at Chelsea; where, as he was well acquainted with the King's inconstant and cruel temper, he prepared himself to meet with fortitude whatever evils might await him.

The coronation of Anne Boleyn being fixed for the thirty-first of May, 1533, More was requested to attend the ceremony; but, as he still retained his opinion on the illegality of his Majesty's divorce, he declined the invitation. By this refusal Henry was so highly exasperated, that in the ensuing parliament a bill was brought into the House of Lords, attainting him with several others for having countenanced and encouraged Elisabeth Barton, a pretended prophetess, stiled 'The Holy Maid of Kent.'

This woman, who affirmed that she was commissioned by God to give her sovereign warning of his wicked life, and of the abuse of his royal authority, in a journey to the Nuns of Sion had waited upon Sir Thomas More, and declared to him her pretended revelations. Hence he was brought in, by the King's direction, as one of her accomplices. He justified himself, however, as to his intercourse with her, in several letters to secretary Cromwell; in which he said, he was convinced that she was a most false dissembling hypocrite. But Henry was too much incensed

against him to listen to his allegations ; and when More desired to be admitted into the House of Commons, in order to make his own defence against the bill, he would not consent to it, but assigned a committee of the council to hear him. The chief point intended however was to induce him, by fair words or by threatenings, to give a public assent to the meditated procedure ; for which purpose the Lord Chancellor Audley made a great parade of his Majesty's extraordinary love and favour toward him. But More, after assuring the committee of his just sense of the royal goodness, told them, " That he had hoped he should never have heard any more of that business ; as he had from the beginning stated his sentiments to his Majesty, who had promised that he should be molested no farther about it. He had found nothing (he continued) since the first agitation of the matter, to persuade him to change his mind : if he had, it would have given him a great deal of pleasure." Upon this the Lords announced to him, that they had their employer's commands to inform him, he was the most ungrateful and traitorous of subjects ; adding, that he had been the means of his Majesty's publishing a book, in which he had put a sword into the Pope's hand to fight against himself. This was Henry's celebrated book against Luther ;\* but Sir

\* The '*Assertio Septem Sacramentorum adversus Martinum Lutherum*,' &c. published in 1521 ; for which he had received the title, since borne by all his successors, of ' Defender of the Faith.' Luther, in reply, treated his royal antagonist with the most supreme contempt. This drew from Bishop Fisher (to whom, with More and Lea archbishop of York conjunctively, Henry's book was by some persons ascribed) his '*Defensio Assertionis*,' &c. and from More himself his '*Responsio ad Convitia M. Lutheri*,' &c.

Thomas clearing himself of this charge also, and protesting that he had always found fault with those parts of the book which were calculated to raise the power of the Pope, and had objected against them even to his Majesty himself, the lords not being able to make any reply to his vindication broke up the committee. Mr. Roper, observing Sir Thomas extremely cheerful on his return, inquired if his name was struck out of the bill of attainder? "I had forgotten that," said the Knight; "but if you would know the reason of my mirth, it is that I have given the devil so foul a fall to-day, and gone so far with these lords, that without great shame indeed I can never go back."

As the Duke of Norfolk and Secretary Cromwell had a high esteem for More, they used their utmost efforts to dissuade the King from proceeding; assuring him, that they found the Upper House fully determined to hear him in his own defence, and if his name were not struck out, it was much to be apprehended that the bill would be rejected. But Henry was too haughty to submit to a subject, with whom he had entered the lists, and too vindictive to forgive a man who, after having once been his favourite, had dared to offend him. He declared, therefore, that he would himself attend the House, when the bill should be agitated; thinking, no doubt, that the lords in that case would not hesitate in passing it. Upon this the committee of the council, on their knees, besought him to forbear: telling him, that 'if it should be carried against him in his own presence, it would not only encourage his subjects to despise him, but dishonour him also throughout Europe. They did

not doubt but they should be able to find out something else against More, in which they might serve his Majesty with some success; but in this affair of the nun he was universally accounted so innocent, that the world thought him worthier of praise than of reproof.' With these suggestions, they at last subdued the royal pertinacity, and Sir Thomas' name was struck out of the bill.

But it being now publicly known, that he was as much out of favour with the King as he had previously been in his good graces, accusations poured in against him from every quarter; and then it was, that he found the peculiar advantage of his invariable probity. Of this we have an instance in the case of one Parnell, who complained that 'he had made a decree against him in the Court of Chancery, at the suit of Vaughan his adversary, for which he had received, from the hands of Mrs. Vaughan \* a large gilt cup as a bribe.' More, by the King's direction, being summoned before the council, and charged with the fact, readily owned, that 'as the cup was brought to him long after the decree was made, for a new-year's-gift, he had not refused to accept it.' Upon this, Lord Wiltshire, the father of the new Queen, who prosecuted the suit against him, hastily cried out, "Lo, my lords, did I not tell you, that you should find the matter true?" More requesting, however, that as they had with indulgence heard him tell one part of the tale, so they would vouchsafe to hear the other, added; 'that though, after much solicitation, he had indeed under these circum-

\* Vaughan himself was at that time, it appears, confined at home by the gout.

stances received the cup, yet he had ordered his butler to fill it immediately with wine, of which he directly drank to Mrs. Vaughan; and when she had pledged him in it, then as freely as her husband had given it to him, even so freely he gave the same to her again, to present unto her husband for his new-year's-gift; upon which she carried it back again, though with some reluctance.' The truth of this the woman herself, and others then present, deposed before the council, to the great confusion of his calumniators.

Other accusations, equally groundless, were brought against him, serving only the more fully to demonstrate his integrity. But in a parliament called in 1534, among many other acts tending to abrogate the papal power, was enacted one by which it was declared that the King's marriage with Catharine was against the law of God, and the succession to the crown of England was established in the issue of his Majesty's subsequent connexion with Anne Boleyn. —There was also inserted a clause, that whoever should divulge any thing to the slander of this connexion, or of it's issue, or being required to swear to maintain the contents of the act, should refuse it, should be adjudged guilty of misprision of treason, and suffer accordingly. This oath all the members took, before they separated; and commissioners were subsequently sent throughout the kingdom, to administer it to the people of every rank and denomination.

Shortly after the breaking up of the parliament a committee of the cabinet-council met at Lambeth, consisting of Archbishop Cranmer, the Lord Chancellor Audley, and Secretary Cromwell; where se-

veral ecclesiastics, and the single layman Sir Thomas More, were cited to take the oath. Sir Thomas, being first called, desired to see the act of succession which enjoined this oath; and after having perused it, observed, "That he would blame neither those who had made the act, nor those who had taken the oath: but, for his own part, though he was willing to swear to the succession in a form of his own drawing, yet the oath which was offered was so worded, that his conscience revolted against it, and he could not take it with safety to his soul." He offered, however, to swear to the succession of the crown in the issue of the King's second marriage; because he thought the parliament had a right to determine that matter.\* Mr. Secretary Cromwell, who tenderly favoured him, and who anticipated the consequence of this refusal, in his great anxiety protested with an oath, that he had rather his only son should have lost his head, than that More should have declined to swear to the succession. The conference thus terminated, he was consigned to the custody of the Abbot of Westminster for four days, during which

\* Cranmer's argument with him was; "Since you blame no other person for taking this oath, it appears that you are not convinced the taking of it is sinful: you only entertain doubts of the matter. You cannot doubt, however, that you are bound to obey the King and the law. There being therefore a certainty on the one side, and only a doubt on the other, it is your duty to act according to the first, notwithstanding the second." As if because he had no doubt with regard to the sinfulness of his own taking the oath, though he did not condemn those of a different opinion, he was to regulate his conduct by the consciences of others! Still less likely was it, that he should be swayed by the coarser argument of the Abbot of Westminster, viz. "That since his conscience determined differently from the great council of the realm, he ought to regard it as erroneous, and to change it!"



the council deliberated what course it was best to pursue upon the occasion; and, in the end, he was committed prisoner to the Tower.

So little impression, however, did his misfortunes make upon his spirits, that he retained his usual mirth. The Lieutenant of the Tower, whom he had formerly obliged by some kindness, apologised to him, that he could not accommodate him as he wished without incurring the royal displeasure: to which he replied, "Master lieutenant, whenever I find fault with the entertainment you provide for me, do you turn me out of doors." After he had been confined about a month, his favourite daughter was allowed to visit him, and subsequently his wife; who remonstrated with much petulance, 'that he, who had been always reputed so wise a man, should now so play the fool, as to be content to be shut up in a close filthy prison with rats and mice, when he might enjoy his liberty and the King's favour, if he would but do as all the bishops and other learned men had done: and as he had a good house to live in, his library, his gallery, his garden, and all other necessaries handsome about him, where he might enjoy himself with his wife and children, she could not conceive what he meant by tarrying so quietly in this imprisonment.' He heard her very patiently, and then asked her, in his facetious manner, 'whether that house was not as nigh to heaven as his own?' which she resenting, he added very seriously, that 'he saw no great cause for so much joy in his house and the things about it, which would so soon forget it's master, that if he were under ground but seven years and came to it again, he should find those in it who would bid him begone, and tell him it was none of his. Besides,

his stay in it was so uncertain, that as he would be but a bad merchant, who would put himself in danger to lose eternity for a thousand years, so how much more, if he were not sure to enjoy it one day to an end?’

He had now been in confinement above a twelve-month, and Henry had tried every expedient to procure his approbation of his divorce, and his second marriage, in vain. The affair of the King’s supremacy, likewise, was no less a matter of conscience to him than the other; but, as the statute by which it was enacted had made it treason to write or speak against it, he observed a silence in this respect conformable to the law. He refused, however, to acknowledge it with an oath: upon which Henry, determined to rid himself of a man who had caused him so much trouble, and of whose virtues and popularity he stood in awe, gave orders that he should immediately be brought to trial.

In consequence of this, on a day appointed, he was conveyed in a boat from the Tower to Westminster-Hall. His long imprisonment had much impaired his strength: he went, therefore, leaning on his staff from the water-side; but though his countenance indicated weakness and infirmity, it retained the same air of cheerfulness, by which it had always been characterised in the days of his prosperity. He was tried by the Lord Chancellor Audley, and a committee of the lords, with some of the judges, at the bar of the King’s-Bench. When the Attorney-General had gone through the charge alleged against him in the indictment in the most virulent manner, the Chancellor, seconded by the Duke of Norfolk, observed to him, “You see now, how grievously you have offended his Majesty; nevertheless, he is so merciful, that if you will but

leave your obstinacy and change your opinion, we hope you may yet obtain pardon of his Highness for what is past." To this he firmly replied, "That he had much cause to thank these noble lords for their courtesy; but he besought Almighty God, that through his grace he might continue in the mind he was then in unto death." He then went through his defence upon every part of the indictment with great strength of argument and eloquence, and an astonishing presence of mind.

The principal evidence against him was Mr. Rich, the Solicitor-General; who deposed, that when he was sent some time before to fetch More's books and papers from the Tower, at the end of a conversation with him upon the King's supremacy, Mr. Rich having admitted that no parliament could enact that God should not be God, Sir Thomas replied, "No more can the parliament make the King supreme head of the church." Astonished at the malice and the falsehood of this evidence, the prisoner immediately remarked, "If I were a man, my lords, that did not regard an oath, I needed not at this time and in this place, as it is well known to you all, stand as an accused person: and if this oath, Mr. Rich, which you have taken be true, then I pray that I may never see God in the face; which I would not say, were it otherwise, to gain the whole world." Upon this, the Solicitor-General not being able to prove his testimony by witnesses, that allegation dropped.

But, unhappily for More, he lived in the days of a monarch, whose will was a law to judges as well as juries: notwithstanding therefore the evidence against him proved notoriously false, the jury to their eternal reproach found him guilty. No sooner had they

brought in their verdict, than the Chancellor, as the mouth of the court, began immediately to pronounce the sentence; but the prisoner stopped him short with this modest rebuke: "My lord, when I was toward the law, the manner in such cases was to ask the prisoner, before sentence, whether he could give any reason why judgement should not proceed against him?" Upon this, Audley inquired, 'what he was able to allege in his own vindication;' and, whether the exceptions made were too strong to be answered, or he himself began to feel some little compunction, or shrunk under the anticipation of the popular clamor: after Sir Thomas had done speaking, he demanded of the Lord Chief Justice,\* openly before the court, his opinion as to the validity of the indictment. The answer was somewhat remarkable: "My lords all, by St. Gillian I must needs confess, that if the act of parliament be not unlawful, then in my conscience the indictment is not insufficient." Upon this equivocal expression, the Chancellor observed to the rest, "Lo, my lords, lo, you hear what my Lord Chief Justice saith:" after which, without waiting for any reply, he proceeded to pass sentence; 'That Sir Thomas More should be carried back to the Tower of London, and should thence be drawn on a hurdle through the city to Tyburn, there to be hanged till he was half-dead; after that cut down yet alive, his private parts cut off, his belly ripped, his bowels burnt, his four quarters set up over the four gates of the city, and his head upon London-Bridge.' This shocking sentence filled the eyes of numbers with tears, and their hearts with horror.

\* Fitz-James,

The court then informing the illustrious convict, that 'if he had any thing farther to say, they were ready to hear him;' he addressed himself to them in a manner evincing him to have been, however blinded in other respects by Romish superstition, a primitive Christian and a true philosopher. "I have nothing," said he, "farther to say, my lords, but that like as the blessed apostle St. Paul was present, and consented to the death of Stephen, and kept their clothes who stoned him to death, and yet be they now both twain holy saints in heaven, and shall continue there friends for ever; so I verily trust, and shall therefore right heartily pray, that though your lordships have now been judges on earth to my condemnation, we may yet hereafter all meet together in heaven to our everlasting salvation: and so I pray God preserve you all, and especially my sovereign lord the King, and send him faithful counsellors."

Having taken his leave of the court in this noble manner, he was conducted from the bar to the Tower, with the axe carried before him in the usual manner after condemnation. But when he came to the Tower-Wharf, his favourite daughter Mrs. Margaret Roper, thinking this would be her last opportunity, was waiting there to see him. As soon as he appeared, she burst through the throng and the guard which surrounded him, and having received his blessing upon her knees, embraced him eagerly before them all, amidst a flood of tears and a thousand kisses of tenderness and affection. Her heart being ready to break with grief, the only words that she could utter, were, "My father, oh my father!" If any thing could have shaken his fortitude, it must have been this: but he only took her up in his arms, and told

her, that 'whatsoever he should suffer, though he was innocent, yet it was not without the will of God, to whose blessed pleasure she should conform her own will; that she knew well enough all the secrets of his heart, and that she must be patient for her loss.' Upon this, she parted from him; but scarcely was she turned aside, before her passions of grief and love became irresistible, and she again suddenly broke through the crowd, ran eagerly up to him the second time, clasped him round the neck, and hung upon him ready to die with sorrow. This was rather too much for man to bear; and though he did not speak a word, yet the tears flowed down his cheeks in great abundance, till she took her last embrace, and left him.\*

After he had lain a few days under sentence of death, preparing his mind for that awful event by prayer and meditation, one of the royal minions made him a visit to persuade him, if possible, to change his mind. Sir Thomas, wearied at last with his nonsense and importunity, in order to get rid of him told him, that 'he had changed it:': upon which the courtier, pluming himself upon his achievement, ran in great haste to inform the King. Henry however, apprehending some mistake, directed him to return immediately to the Tower, and discover in what particulars the prisoner had changed

\* Being denied the use of pen and ink, he subsequently wrote to her a letter with a coal; and sent her also his whip and his hair-shirt, of which circumstances of his devout discipline she was the sole confidante. She too found means to procure his head, after it had been exposed fourteen days upon London-Bridge, and preserving it carefully in a leaden box, gave directions that at her own funeral it should be placed within her arms, which was accordingly done.

his mind: when he had the mortification to learn, that whereas More had intended to be shaved, in order to appear to the people as he was wont to do before his imprisonment, he was now fully resolved that his beard should share the same fate with his head. In consideration that he had borne the highest office in the kingdom, his sentence of being drawn, hanged, and quartered was by the King's favour changed into beheading; which being communicated to him, he with his usual jocoseness exclaimed, "God forbid the King should use any more such mercy to any of my friends; and God preserve my posterity from such favours!"

On the fifth of July 1535, Sir Thomas Pope, his intimate friend, was sent to him by his Majesty early in the morning, to acquaint him that 'he was to be executed that day at nine o'clock, and therefore that he must immediately prepare himself for death:' upon which he calmly replied, "I most heartily thank you for your good tidings. I have been much bound to the King's Highness for the benefit of his honours, that he hath most bountifully bestowed upon me: yet I am more bound to his Grace, I do assure you, for putting me here, where I have had convenient time and space to have remembrance of my end; and (so help me God!) most of all I am bound unto him, that it hath pleased his Majesty so shortly to rid me out of the miseries of this wretched world." His friend then told him, that 'his Majesty's pleasure farther was, that he should not use many words at his execution:.' to which Sir Thomas answered, "You do well, Mr. Pope, to give me warning of the King's pleasure herein, for otherwise I had proposed at that time to have spoken somewhat, but no

matter wherewith his Grace or any others should have cause to be offended: howbeit, whatsoever I intended, I am ready to conform myself obediently to his Highness' command; and I beseech you, good Mr. Pope, to be a means to his Majesty, that my daughter Margaret may be at my burial." Being told that 'the King had already consented that his wife and children, and any of his friends, might have the liberty to be present at it,' he added, "O how much beholden then am I to his Grace, that unto my poor burial vouchsafes to have such gracious consideration!" Sir Thomas Pope, having thus discharged his commission, bade his friend adieu with many tears and with much commiseration: but the prisoner desired him to be comforted with the prospect of eternal bliss, in which they should live and love together; and to give him an impression of the ease and quiet of his own mind, he took his urinal in his hand, and casting his water observed, "I see no danger but that this man might live longer, if it had pleased the King."

As soon as Pope had left him, he dressed himself in his best apparel, that his appearance might express the ease and complacency which he felt within. The Lieutenant of the Tower disapproving this generosity to his executioner, who was to have his apparel, Sir Thomas assured him, 'if it was cloth of gold, he should think it well bestowed upon one who was to do him so singular a benefit.' But that officer, pressing him very much to change his dress, Sir Thomas, unwilling to deny him so small a gratification, put on a gown of frieze; and, of the little money that he had remaining, sent an angel to the executioner, as a token of his good will.



About nine o'clock he cheerfully left the Tower, carrying a red cross in his hand, and often lifting up his eyes to heaven. A woman meeting him with a cup of wine, he refused it, saying, "Christ at his passion drank no wine, but gall and vinegar." Another woman came crying, and demanded some papers which she said she had left in his hands when he was Chancellor; to whom he said, "Good woman, have patience but for an hour, and the King will rid me of the care I have for those papers, and every thing else." A third exclaimed 'he had done her much wrong during his Chancellorship:' but he only answered, "I very well remember the cause, and if I were to decide it now, I should make the same decree." When he came to the scaffold, it seemed ready to fall; upon which he merrily remarked to the Lieutenant, "Pray, Sir, see me safe up; and as to my coming down, let me shift for myself." He then desired the people to 'pray for him, to bear witness that he died in the faith of the Catholic Church, a faithful servant to God and the King.' He repeated the *miserere*-psalm kneeling, with much devotion: and the executioner asking him forgiveness, he kissed him, and said, "Pluck up thy spirits, man, and be not afraid to do thine office; my neck is very short, take heed therefore thou strike not awry, for saving thine honesty." After he had laid his head upon the block however, he bade him 'stay till he had put his beard aside,\* for that had committed no treason.'

\* *Abscindi passus caput est à corpore Merus;*

*Abscindi crines noluit a capite.*

Audoen. *Epigr.* ii. 152.

His head, then, by one blow of the axe was severed from his body.\*

Such was the tragical end of Sir Thomas More: a man, who by his literary attainments ranked second only to Erasmus in that age; whose accomplishments rendered him an ornament to his country, and who for his fortitude, his heavenly-mindedness, his incorruptible spirit, and his generous contempt of riches and external honours was equal to the most celebrated characters of ancient Greece or Rome.† Nor was

\* “If M. de St. Evremond was so pleased with the gayety of humour in a dying man (Petronius, whom he places above Seneca, Cato, or Socrates) he might have found a much nobler instance of it in our countryman, Sir Thomas More. This great and learned man was famous for enlivening his ordinary discourses with wit and pleasantry; and, as Erasmus tells him in an Epistle Dedicatory, acted in all parts of life like a second Democritus. He died upon a point of religion, and is respected as a martyr by that side for which he suffered. That innocent mirth, which had been so conspicuous in his life, did not forsake him to the last. He maintained the same cheerfulness of heart upon the scaffold, which he used to show at his table; and upon laying his head on the block gave instances of that good humour, with which he had always entertained his friends in the most ordinary occurrences. His death was of a piece with his life. There was nothing in it new, forced, or affected. He did not look upon the severing of his head from his body as a circumstance, that ought to produce any change in the disposition of his mind; and as he died under a fixed and settled hope of immortality, he thought any unusual degree of sorrow and concern improper on such an occasion, as had nothing in it which could deject or terrify him.” (Addison, *Spect.* No. 349.)

“When More’s head was severed from his body, virtue and piety exclaimed, in the language of Erasmus, ‘He is dead; More, whose heart was purer than snow, whose genius was excellent above all his nation.’” (*Epist. Dedic. Ecclesiast.*)

† Swift has classed him with some of the greatest of them, in the *Voyage to Laputa*, where he informs us that “the two Brutuses, Socrates, Epaminondas, Cato the younger, and Sir

any thing wanting (as Hume observes) to the day of his death, but a better cause, more free from weakness and superstition. Even as it was, since he followed his principles and sense of duty, however misguided, his constancy and integrity are not less the objects of our admiration.

He may, justly, be regarded as one of the chief

Thomas More were perpetually together; a sextumvirate, he remarks, to which all the ages of the world cannot add a seventh." This group is judiciously combined by Barry, in his magnificent picture of Elysium.

How different was the treatment his sad destiny received from Borbonius in his '*Nugæ*,' an author who was well known to Erasmus, Scaliger, Palingenius, &c. and sustained a high literary character at the court of Francis I.! The singular and severe invective of this writer against the unfortunate English Chancellor, whom it unjustly represents as low-born and disloyal, may amuse the classical reader. Borbonius, it has been suggested, was perhaps a Protestant, and as such resented More's bitter persecution of his reformed brethren: at least, it may probably be inferred from his congratulatory verses (*Nug.* v. 24.) on Cromwell's promotion, two other copies addressed to Crammar (Cranmer) vii. 9, 10., and his lines to Queen Anne (Boleyn) vii. 119.

#### IN MORUM.

*Et vidi et novi quendam cognomine Morum,*

Και τῆς μορφῆς καλ' ἔδει.

*Is licèt obscuris planè natalibus ortus,*

Σχεδὸν τι γηγενὲς βροτὸς,

*Divitiis nuper magnis et honoribus auctus*

Τῆς ψευδομεινῆς κακῆς τύχης,

*In populum regemque suum (quís crederet?) egit*

Θεομισῶν καὶ τυραννικῶν.

*Audax usque adeò, ut de se dicere suetus,*

“Μαρὸς καὶ ἀμύβοιρος μανῶν.”

*At nuper misero cervix est icta securi:*

Ὁ Μαρ' ἀκυμῶν πομπολυγῆ.

(V. cxiii.)

The very nature of these lines precludes translation.

revivers of classical literature in England. He both wrote and spoke Latin with almost the correctness, and the fluency, of an ancient Roman. Neither from the appropriateness and accuracy, with which he used his vernacular language, could he be pronounced less an improver of English literature. "His poems," observes Lloyd in his *'British Worthies,'* "were acute, his speeches pure and copious, his Latin elegant; yet his head was knotty and logical. His diet was temperate, his apparel plain, his nature tractable and condescending (though very discerning) to the meanest men's counsel; his virtues solid, not boasted. In a word, the foundation of his life was as low, as the building was to be high."—"His ability set him on the council-table: his integrity placed him in the Exchequer: his services promoted him to the Duchy of Lancaster: his dexterity and prudence made him the King's bosom-friend, and his familiar all his spare hours; whose questions in every art and science were not more useful, than Sir Thomas' answers were satisfactory. His advice was his Majesty's and his Queen's oracles in counsel; his discourse was their recreation at table. He was not more delightful to the King at court, than he was serviceable to him in appeasing tumults, &c. in the city. He was the King's favourite at Whitehall, and the people's darling at Westminster, where he was Speaker as well with the unanimous consent of the one, as with the approbation of the other; and between both impartial, equally careful of prerogative and privileges, neither awed from right by power nor flattered with popularity. He declined foreign services with as much dexterity, as he managed domestic ones. He served the King faithfully, but

trusted him not, as one that enjoyed and suspected fortune."

His '*Utopia*'\* is his most celebrated work; but

\* "In this work (written in Latin, about the year 1516) he has declared himself fully and freely against putting thieves to death. He would have them confined to hard labour, and made slaves for a certain number of years, and kindly used all that time, if they behaved themselves well. Erasmus was in the same charitable and reasonable way of thinking." (Jortin's *Life of Erasmus*, 8vo. I. 177.) See the Extracts.

How ably, and how extensively, this idea has been supported in later times by the most illustrious authorities, may be satisfactorily inferred from Mr. Montagu's three volumes, containing 'The Opinions of different Authors upon the Punishment of Death,' viz. Blackstone, Johnson, Ashburton, Coke, Bacon, Romilly, &c. &c. &c.; volumes reflecting equal credit upon the society with which they originated, and which has been expressly formed for the diffusion of knowledge upon this very important subject, and upon the perseverance and the sensibility of the selector, who has so industriously completed the compilation.

"As this was the age of discoveries," says Granger, the *Utopia* "was taken for true history by Budæus, and others; who thought it highly expedient, that missionaries should be sent to convert so wise a people to Christianity!" There is a long letter of the celebrated G. J. Vossius upon it. See *Epist.* Lond. 1693. fol.

In this work it is no small matter of surprise to find one, who in his youth had been so grossly superstitious, and in his age was to fall into such bloody bigotry, viewing mankind and religion with the liberal freedom of a true philosopher. Had he died at that time, he would probably have been numbered with those, who, though they lived in the communion of the church of Rome, yet saw her errors and corruptions, and only wanted fit opportunities of declaring themselves more openly for a reformation. (Cayley, I. 261.) How he came subsequently, after these gleams of lustre, to *love darkness rather than light*, as his works were not evil, it is not very easy to conjecture.

The *Utopia*, it may be added, was composed during his greatest hurry of judicial business, time being frequently stolen

he also wrote the History of King Richard the Third,\* which has been published both in Latin and English, with many other pieces now little remembered, as being chiefly in defence of the Romish faith.

from sleep for its completion. It has been translated into French, Italian, Dutch, and English, and is still justly deemed a masterpiece of art and fancy.

\* Upon the usurpation of Richard III., and his murder of his two nephews, Hume says (and with him almost every English historian agrees) "a most luminous ray is thrown by the narrative of Sir Thomas More, whose singular magnanimity, probity, and judgement make him an evidence beyond all exception." Yet has it been excepted against by Buck, a writer in the time of James I., who in his 'Life and Reign of Richard III.' not only asserts the innocence of that prince, but even denies the extreme deformity of person previously ascribed to him. This however completely invalidating the title of his sovereign, as derived through a daughter of Henry VII., he found it necessary to trace the Stuart line from a more legitimate origin, Margaret, the sister of Edgar Atheling, married to Malcolm Canmore. With Buck, Carte, in his 'History of England,' agrees; and Mr. Walpole, in his 'Historic Doubts,' has illustrated the subject with many new and ingenious arguments. More recently still, Mr. Laing. (See Appendix to Henry's 'History of England,' vol. XII.) has explored it with his characteristical minuteness and accuracy, and draws from his inquiries the four-fold conclusion:

1. That Richard must be exculpated from the crimes attributed to his early youth—the murders of Henry VI., and his son Prince Edward, and perhaps of Clarence;

2. That, instead of a perjured traitor, he must be recognised as the legitimate sovereign of England;

3. That the account of the murder of the young princes is false; and

4. That Perkin Warbeck was a genuine Plantagenet, the real Duke of York.

In this disquisition, he finds that More derived his documents not from the traditionary authority of Richard's contemporaries,

By his first wife he left three daughters, and one son, John; "in virtue and learning," saith Roper, "brought up from their youth; whom he would often exhort to take virtue and learning for their meat, and play for their sauce." Margaret, his favourite child, married William Roper; Elizabeth married John Dancy; and Cecilia married Giles Heron. They all left issue. John was one of the *heroium filii*, says Jortin, who are seldom equal to their fathers. More indeed told his wife, 'she had prayed so long for a boy, that she had produced one at last, who would be a boy as long as he lived.' Margaret however, in particular, appears to have enjoyed every advantage of an understanding strong by nature, and cultivated with peculiar attention. Costerius, in his notes on Vincentius Lirinensis, gives us one of her emendations of Cyprian, which is not unworthy of the ablest critic. She also wrote two declamations in English, which both she and her father subsequently translated into Latin with so much eloquence, that it was difficult to pronounce which of them deserved the preference. She drew up a Treatise likewise on the Four Last Things,

but from a Latin History of that prince composed by Archbishop Morton, his early patron, which was preserved in the last century by Roper, one of More's descendents. But though to the materials thus supplied he superadded an ornamental and classical varnish, he must be acquitted, under this view of the matter, from the imputation of having propagated deliberate falsehood.

Mr. Cayley, it ought to be added, after taking a careful view of the subject, observes, that "our judgements have not been convinced by flippancies; and Richard still remains the monster he was." (*Life of More*, I. 263.) So difficult is it, to draw truth from her well!

which More declared to be better than one of his own composition. Erasmus complimented her, in a letter, for her learning still more than for her virtue or her manners; and when Cardinal Pole read one of her Epistles, he could not believe that it was written by a woman. She, in her turn, was not less attentive to the education of her own children. Her daughter Mrs. Basset, one of the ladies of Queen Mary's privy-chamber, translated into English a part of her grandfather's Exposition of our Saviour's Passion in a stile so like his own, that many believed the version to have been made by himself. She wished indeed to have had Ascham, as he himself informs us, for their preceptor; but he could not be prevailed upon, at that time, to quit the university.

At this period, when education so justly engrosses a considerable portion of the national attention, as female education both admits and requires some improvement, an additional page or two may not disadvantageously be occupied by one of his letters upon the subject addressed to Gonellus, their tutor.

‘ I have received, my dear Gonellus, your letters, full as usual of elegance and affection. Your love of my children I see by your letters, your diligence I gather from their own; for each of their letters pleased me. But especially was I delighted, that Elizabeth behaved herself with a decency of demeanor in my absence, which few children observe in the presence of their parents. Give her to understand, that that circumstance gratified me more than could all the learning in the world. For I prefer the learning, which is united with virtue, to all the treasures of kings; and if we separate from it propriety of conduct, what more doth the fame of letters bring us



than a kind of infamy in notoriety? This applies peculiarly to the female sex. Their proficiency in literature being something new, and a kind of reproach to the sluggishness of men, most men will be ready to attack them, and to expend their natural malice upon their learning. Nay, they will call their own ignorance a virtue, when compared with the faults of these learned. On the other hand, if a woman (which I wish may be the case with all my girls, and in which I have the greatest confidence under your auspices) to high excellence of character unites even a moderate portion of learning, I deem her possessed of more real good, than if she had the wealth of Croesus and the beauty of Helen.

‘ And this not for the sake of fame, although fame pursues worth as the shadow the body: but because the reward of wisdom is more substantial, than to be borne away on the wings of riches, or to fade with beauty; as it places it’s dependence on rectitude of conscience, not on the tongues of others, which abound in folly and evil. For as the avoiding of infamy is the duty of a good man, so the laying himself out for fame is the part not only of a proud, but also of a ridiculous and contemptible one; since that mind must of necessity be ill at ease, which ever fluctuates between joy and sadness from the opinions of others. Of the great benefits however, which learning confers upon man, I really deem none preferable to the instruction which letters afford us, that in the attainment of them we regard not the reputation they bring us, but their utility. Which precept, although some have abused their learning, like other good possessions, by hunting only for vain glory and

popular fame, yet has it been delivered by all the most learned, and especially by the philosophers, those moderators of human life.

‘ I have enlarged the more on this subject of vain glory, my Gonellus, because of the expression in your letter, that you think the elevated cast of my daughter Margaret’s mind ought not to be lowered. I agree with you in this opinion. But in my mind, and I doubt not in yours also, he seems to lower the noble disposition of his mind, who accustoms himself to admire what is vain and base. And he, on the other hand, to elevate it, who esteems virtue and true good; who, by contemplating sublime objects, looks down as from on high, with disregard on those shadows of good, which almost every one in ignorance greedily catches at for the substance.

‘ As this seemed to me the best way, I have requested not only you, my dear Gonellus, whose strong love to all mine would have led you, I know, to have done so of your own accord; or my wife, to whom (as I have often witnessed) her true maternal piety is a sufficient impulse; but frequently almost all my friends also, to admonish my children, that avoiding the precipices of pride, they walk in the pleasant meads of modesty; that the sight of riches overcome them not; that they sigh not for the want of that in themselves, which is erroneously admired by others; that they think no better of themselves for being well dressed, nor worse for being otherwise; that they spoil not the beauty which nature gave them by neglect, nor endeavour to increase it by vile arts; that they esteem virtue the first, and letters the second good; and that of these they deem those the best,

which can best teach them piety to God, charity to man, modesty and Christian humility in their own deportment.

‘ Thus shall they receive from the Almighty the reward of an innocent life, in the certain expectation of which they shall not fear death; and feeling true joy in this life, be neither puffed up with the vain praises of men, nor broken down by their malice. These I regard as the true and genuine fruits of learning; which, though they be not put forth by all the learned, yet, whoever studies with this view, I maintain may produce them in the highest perfection.

‘ It matters not to the crop, whether man or woman sowed it; and if the name ‘ Man,’ whose reason distinguishes his nature from the brute, applies to both sexes, I say science, by which that reason is cultivated, and like a field bears good corn under due tillage, equally becomes either. But if the soil in woman be bad by nature, and more productive of weeds than corn, (by which opinion many deter the sex from letters) I, on the other hand, think that female genius ought on that very account to be the more diligently cultivated by letters and good discipline; in order that the evil of nature may, by industry, be corrected. So thought those wise and holy men, the Fathers: of whom, to omit the rest, Jerom and Augustine not only exhorted ladies of the highest rank and worth to the acquisition of letters, but, that they might the more easily accomplish it, diligently expounded to them abstruse passages in Scripture, and wrote long letters to young maidens with so much erudition, that old men of our day and professors of divinity can scarcely read,

so far are they from understanding them. Which works of holy men, my learned Gonellus, you will of your goodness take care that my daughters read. From them they may best know the scope which their learning ought to aim at; and they will teach them to esteem the consent of God, and a good conscience, the best fruit of their labours. Thus, placid and tranquil in themselves, they will neither be elated by the praise of the flatterer, nor feel the rancour of the unlearned scoffer.

‘ But I hear you exclaiming, that ‘ these precepts, though true, are too hard for the tender age of my children; for who is there, however old or learned, with a mind so strong and well-poised, that he has not the smallest inclination for glory?’ My friend, the more difficult I see it to shake off this pest of pride, the more endeavour do I deem necessary, even from infancy. Nor is there any other cause, in my opinion, why this unavoidable evil sticks so fast in our breasts, than that because almost as soon as we are born it is sown in our minds by our nurses, next cherished by our masters, and lastly fed and brought to perfection by our parents. For no one teaches us any good without the expectation of praise, as the reward of merit; whence, being long accustomed to the love of praise, we come at last, in studying to please the majority (and, therefore, the inferiority) to grow ashamed of being good.

‘ That this plague may be driven the farther from my children, do you, my Gonellus, their mother, and all my friends, chant, inculcate, nay, bellow in their ears, that ‘ vain glory is abject and disgusting; and that there is nothing more excellent than the humble modesty recommended by Christ.’ This your

prudent kindness will inculcate by teaching them good, rather than by blaming their faults; and you will conciliate their love, not hatred, by your admonitions. To this end nothing can conduce more effectually, than reading to them the precepts of the Fathers. These, they know, are not angry with them; and, from their venerable sanctity, their authority must have great weight.

‘Wherefore, if you will read some such things, beside their lesson in Sallust, to my Margaret and Elizabeth (as their understandings appear to be riper than those of John and Cecilia), you will increase my own, not less than their obligations to you, which are already great. And my children, dear to me by nature, and more endeared by their letters and virtue, shall become by their superior growth in learning and good manners, under your auspices, superlatively dear to me indeed. Farewell.

‘*At Court, Whitsun Eve.*’ \*

On the subject of his person, and other particularities of his mind and body, I subjoin the translation of part of a letter† addressed by Erasmus to Hutten

\* From Cayley’s *Life*, I. 282—287.

† Another, written by the same illustrious scholar to Budæus, contains a farther account of his manner of living and managing his family, and of the excellent dispositions and uncommon erudition of his daughters. His house indeed Erasmus, who had frequently been an inmate of it, pronounced ‘a little habitation of the Muses and a second academy of Plato.’ Neither man nor woman in it was unemployed in liberal occupation, and in useful study; though religion was the chief object.

This family (it should be remembered) consisted of his wife, his son and his son’s wife, his three daughters and their husbands, and eleven grand-children.

in 1519, of which his biographers do not appear to have made sufficient use.

—‘ Of a stature neither tall, nor attracting observation by it’s diminutiveness, his figure is formed in the most perfect proportions. His complexion is fair; but the hue of his face, suffused with a delicate tinge of colour, without the least flush of ruddiness, may be pronounced rather bright than pallid. His hair is darkish yellow, or rather perhaps yellowish dark; his beard thin, his eyes grayish and somewhat speckled, indicating not only the highest genius, but also, as his compatriots believe, the sweetest disposition. Our countrymen prefer the black. In Britain however they affirm, that eyes of the other description are the least liable to infirmities. His countenance corresponds with his disposition, constantly announcing a delightful and friendly playfulness, and made up as it were into an habitual smile: to speak out indeed, adapted much better to mirth, than to gravity or dignity; though far, very far, removed from silliness or buffoonery. His right shoulder appears a little higher than his left, particularly when he is walking; a defect however less to be imputed to nature than to habit, which betrays us all into many imperfections. In other respects, there is nothing to justify censure; except that his hands perhaps, compared with the rest of his person, may be regarded as rather clumsy.

‘ From his very boyhood he appears utterly to have neglected attending to his person in those particulars, which Ovid regards as alone worthy of a gentleman’s attention. His youthful bloom it is impossible to infer from his present decay; though I myself was

acquainted with him at three and twenty, and he is now very little beyond his fortieth year. His health, rather regular than robust, is equal to any toils in which a respectable man is called to engage; and it has certainly been interrupted by very few, if any, indispositions. Arguing from his father, who, though extremely old, enjoys a wonderfully green and vigorous age, one may reasonably hope that he will attain a very advanced period of life. In the article of food, I never met with any person so perfectly free from fastidiousness. During his boyish years he drank nothing but water, his father's favourite beverage. But to obviate the charge of being unaccommodating in this particular, he occasionally cheated his comrades by drinking ale out of a tin cup diluted almost to water, and frequently water only. Wine, when in compliance with the English custom it was necessary to raise the common bowl to his lips, he usually just tasted, both to escape the imputation of singularity, and to adapt himself to prevailing customs. For food he has always preferred beef, salt-meats, and coarse leavened bread to more dainty and popular dishes; though, in other regards, he by no means declined whatever might be a source of innocent gratification to the senses. Of preparations from milk (curds, &c.) and all tree-fruits he was ever remarkably fond, and eggs stand high in his favour. His voice is neither deep, nor very shrill, but easily enters the ear; not particularly harmonious or soft, but well suited to simple expression: in truth, though highly charmed with every species of music, he does not appear to have much vocal music in himself. His pronunciation is singularly distinct and articulate;

neither hurried, nor hesitating. In dress, he prefers the utmost plainness; never wearing his silks, or purple, or gold chains, except when constrained by the decorums of office. Inexpressibly negligent of those forms of ceremony, by which vulgar minds estimate gentility, he neither exacts nor exhibits them in casual or convivial meetings, though he is perfectly familiar with them upon all proper occasions. He deems it, indeed, unmanly and effeminate to waste valuable time in such idle frivolities.

‘A bitter foe at all times to tyranny, and a strenuous assertor of equality, in early life he shrunk from courts and the friendships of princes. Where indeed can the court be found, which is without its tumults and its ambitions, its intrigues and its revelries, and the appearances (to say the least) of tyrannical propensities? Even to that of Henry VIII., though it is impossible to conceive any thing more liberal or moderate, he was dragged with considerable reluctance. Though naturally enamoured of freedom, yet does not the delight with which he enjoys his leisure exceed the watchfulness and perseverance, with which he transacts his business when engaged in it. He appears to have been expressly born and formed for friendship, by the sincerity with which he cultivates, and the fidelity with which he retains it. Without any alarm on the subject of the Polyphilia (plurality of friendship) so much discountenanced by Hesiod,\* he is accessible to every one who solicits his intimacy. Not difficult in choosing, extremely kind in cherishing, and unusually steadfast in clinging to those whom he has chosen; if haply they prove incurably

\* Epy. 715.



vicious, he gradually declines all intercourse with them, gently dissolving it rather than abruptly breaking it off: if, on the contrary, he finds them worthy and congenial characters, he appears to derive the greatest possible gratification from their lively stories and their society. Cards, dice, &c., the usual pastimes of the 'mob of gentlemen,' he perfectly nauseates. It may be added, that indifferent as he is to his own interests, nobody can be more zealous in promoting those of his friends.

' In short, a more complete model of true friendship can no where be found. In his ordinary intercourse such is his courtesy and suavity, that melancholy indeed must be the individual whom he does not exhilarate, and sad the subject which he fails to render gay. From his cradle delighted with a joke, even in his jokes he avoids both sarcasm and scurrility. In his youth, he occasionally acted in little comedies of his own writing. His love of a witty or ingenious saying extends so far, that he enjoys it even when directed against himself: and hence the epigrams which he composed in early life, his great partiality to Lucian, and his advice to myself, that I should write the 'Praise of Folly,'—a bear in a ball-room! From every thing around him, even of a nature the most serious, he contrives to extract pleasure. In company with the learned and the wise, he is enraptured with their talents: among the weak and the ignorant, he finds enjoyment in their folly. Such indeed is his marvellous power of accommodation, that he is not annoyed even by professed buffoons. With women, even with his wife, he is never otherwise than merry and facetious. You would call him

a second Democritus, or rather liken him to the Pythagorean philosopher, who sauntered empty-handed through the market-place, jesting upon the tumults of 'the buying, selling crowd.' No one is less a slave to popular prejudice, at the same time that no one is more distinguished by common sense. He takes a particular delight in observing the forms, dispositions, and habits of different animals; and with this view he keeps at home almost every species of bird, and other less common creatures—apes, foxes, fitchets, weasels, &c.; beside which, if any foreign or remarkable curiosity is offered for sale, he instantly purchases it, and fills his house with such things: so that, which ever way you turn in entering, you find some rarity to arrest your attention: and, in viewing your gratification, he feels a renewal of his own. In his prime, he was not insensible to the passion of love; but it's indulgence never led him into any thing disgraceful. He chose, indeed, rather to be the wooed than the wooer; and his ambition was abundantly gratified by knowing, that his attachment was not unreturned.

' In the outset of his life, he made great advances in learning: persevering in his pursuit of Greek and philosophy, although his father (in other respects a prudent and good man) far from giving him any support, had nearly disinherited him for renouncing his paternal profession, the law; a profession, wholly alien indeed from sound literature, but supereminently productive both of affluence and of distinction to it's successful votaries in Britain. It is, in fact, one of the principal sources of nobility in that island; and for it's perfect attainment demands, it is asserted, the

assiduous and arduous labour of many years. Indisposed however as his genius, born for better things, justly felt itself to this study; yet after tasting the more liberal sciences, he so acquitted himself as a lawyer that no one, though devoted from the first to his profession, had a chamber more crowded with clients, nor a table more loaded with fees. Such was the force, and the quickness, of his intellect! Neither had he been an idle student of the tomes of orthodoxy. Before he attained the age of manhood, he read public lectures to a numerous auditory upon Augustine's 'Treatise on the City of God;' and old men and clergymen were neither ashamed, nor sorry, to learn from a young layman the truths of theology. In the mean time, with a view to the priesthood, he gave up his whole mind to the study of piety; to watchings, fastings, and prayers, and other exercises of the same description; a far greater proficient he, in all these respects, than most of those who, without any previous preparation, rashly obtrude themselves into so awful an office.

The chief obstacle in his way to this sacred profession was, his insurmountable inclination to marry. He chose therefore to be a chaste husband, rather than an impure priest. His first wife he selected from a good family, quite young and inexperienced (as having been wholly educated in her father's family in the country) that he might the more easily bring her manners into unison with his own. Accordingly, beside various branches of literature, he had her accomplished in every kind of music: but when she had qualified herself to form his happiness throughout a long life, she was torn from him, while

still in her bloom, by an untimely death; not however before she had borne him several children, of whom three daughters, Margaret, Alice, and Cecilia, and a son John, are still living. Nor did he, notwithstanding the entreaties of his friends, continue long a widower, having within a few months after his first wife's death married a widow; with a view, indeed, rather to the superintendence of his family than his own gratification, as (according to his own humorous remark) she was neither beautiful nor young, but an active and careful housewife. Her want of youth and beauty, however, does not prevent his living with her in the kindest and most agreeable manner. And few husbands are so obsequiously obeyed for their imperiousness and severity, as he through his good humour and his playfulness. Of what indeed ought he to despair, when his lady, in the decline of life, austere by nature and parsimoniously frugal, has consented to receive lessons upon various musical instruments, and daily practises as many hours as her husband thinks necessary? By a similar sweetness of temper he sways his whole family. There is no squabbling in it, no peevishness. If he perceives any tendencies of the kind, he either cures or compromises the matter. Never did he send away any one from his presence, with hostility in either breast. By a fortunate fatality, it may be added, every inmate of his house has arisen to higher fortunes, and escaped every taint of ignominy. His cordiality with his two step-mothers could not be exceeded by that of other sons with their real mothers. His father has lately, indeed, married a fourth wife: and More declares, that he never knew a more excel-

lent woman. His affection for all his relations is never either importunate, or, intermitted. With a thorough disdain of every pitiful accumulation, he has set aside for his children what he conceives may be a sufficient provision for them, and freely expends the remainder upon liberal pursuits.

‘ While he continued at the bar, he invariably gave the most friendly and judicious counsel, with reference rather to his clients’ interest than his own ; usually, indeed, advising them to make up their quarrels, as far the cheapest way. If in this he failed, as some people actually appear to enjoy a law-suit, he pointed out to them the most economical course of managing one. In London, his native place, he for some years presided as Judge in the Sheriff’s Court ; a station of little trouble, as the hearing of causes is confined to the Thursday forenoons, but of considerable respectability. No one tried more causes ; no one conducted himself with greater integrity. In fact, he generally declined the fee, which is ordered to be advanced by the litigating parties : the plaintiff and defendant respectively depositing three groats, as the utmost they are liable to pay for a hearing. This conduct most highly endeared him to his fellow-citizens. And in this situation, as at once creditable and safe, he had determined to remain.’

Erasmus next proceeds to detail the circumstances by which he attracted his Sovereign’s notice, the intimacy or rather complete intercommunity which subsisted between the master and the servant, the integrity, benevolence, and accessibility of More in office, &c. He then reverts to the nature and order of his youthful studies :

‘ His early years he employed upon verse: his next effort was, by exercises of every description, to attain a smooth and equable stile in prose; which, however, it would be needless for me to characterise to you, as you are seldom without a volume of his in your hands. Declamations were his chief delight, and these generally upon obscure or inglorious subjects, as demanding a more strenuous exertion of talent. Nay, he meditated while young a dialogue in defence of Plato’s community, even inclusive of wives. He drew up, likewise, a reply to Lucian’s *Tyrannicide*; upon which subject, the more surely to ascertain it’s proficiency, he challenged me as his antagonist. His ‘ *Utopia* ’ he published, in order to show the causes of national disaster; with a principal reference however to his own country, of which he thoroughly understands the constitution in all it’s parts. He had written the Second Book in his moments of leisure, to which he prefixed the First extempore; and hence has arisen some inequality of diction.’

A few paragraphs are added, in conclusion, upon his faculty of extempore speaking, his theological acuteness, and his unaffected and steady piety: and the admirable judgement and conscious purity of the Prince, who could willingly surround himself by such honest and shrewd observers of conduct, are not forgotten!

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The editor subjoins two or three of his Latin poems, with translations, as Specimens of his various powers of composition.

## AD CANDIDUM,

## QUALIS Uxor DELIGENDA.

*JAM tempus id petit  
Monetque, Candide,  
Vagis amoribus  
Tandem renuncies,  
Tandemque desinas  
Incerta Cypridis  
Sequi cubilia ;  
Quærasque virginem,  
Quam ritè jam tibi  
Concorde vincias  
Amore conjugem :  
Quæ jam genus tuum,  
Quo nil beatius,  
Fœcunda dulcibus  
Natis adaugeat.  
Pater tibi tuus  
Hoc antè præstitit :  
Quod à prioribus  
Priùs receperis,  
Non absque fœnore  
Repende posteris.*

*Non sit tibi tamen  
Hæc cura maxima  
Spectare, Candide,  
Quid dotis afferat,  
Quàm sitve candida.  
Infirmus est amor,  
Quem stultus impetus  
Decore concitus  
Parit, vel improbus  
Ardor pecuniæ.  
Quicumque amaverit  
Propter pecuniam,  
Amatur huic nihil  
Præter pecuniam :  
Captâ pecuniâ,*

*Vanescit illicò  
Item fugax amor ;  
Ferèque jam prius  
Perit quam nascitur.  
At nec pecunia,  
Quam avarus antea  
Miser cupiverat,  
Juvare postea  
Quicquam potest, ubi  
Quam non amaverit,  
Invitus attamen  
Omninò cogitur  
Tenere conjugem.*

*Quid forma? numquid hæc  
Vel febre decidit,  
Annisve deperit,  
Ut sole flosculus?  
Tum, defluentibus  
Genæ coloribus,  
Amor, ligaverant  
Quem hæc sola vincula,  
Solutus aufugit.*

*At verus est amor,  
Quem mente perspicax  
(Ratione consule)  
Prudens iniverit ;  
Et quem bono omine  
Virtutis inclytæ  
(Quæ certa permanens  
Non febre decidit,  
Annisve deperit)  
Respectus efficit.*

*Primùm ergo quam voles,  
Amice, ducere,  
Quibus parentibus  
Sit orta perspice :*

*Ut mater optimis  
 Sit culta moribus ;  
 Cujus tenellula  
 Mores puellula  
 Insugat, exprimat.  
 Tum quâ sit indole,  
 Quàm dulcis, hoc vide ;  
 Ut ore virginis  
 Insit serenitas,  
 Ab ore virginis  
 Absitque torvitas.*

*At rursus ut tamen  
 Sit in genis pudor,  
 Nec ore virginis  
 Insit procacitas ;  
 Et sit quieta, nec  
 Cingat salacibus  
 Viros lacertulis.  
 Vultu modesta sit,  
 Nec spectet undique  
 Vagis ocellulis.*

*Proculque stulta sit  
 Parvis labellulis  
 Semper loquacitas ;  
 Proculque rusticum  
 Semper silentium.  
 Sit illa vel modò  
 Instructa literis,  
 Vel talis ut modò  
 Sit apta literis.  
 Felix, quibus bene  
 Priscis ab optimis  
 Possit libellulis  
 Vitam beantia  
 Haurire dogmata ;  
 Armata cum quibus,  
 Nec illa prosperis  
 Superba turgeat,  
 Nec illa turbidis  
 Misella lugeat  
 Prostrata casibus.*

*Jucunda sic erit  
 Semper, nec unquam erit  
 Gravis molestave  
 Vitæ comes tuæ.  
 Quæ docta parvulos  
 Docebit, et tuos  
 Cum lacte literas  
 Olim nepotulos.*

*Jam te juvaverit  
 Viros relinquere,  
 Doctæque conjugis  
 Sinu quiescere ;  
 Dum grata te fovet,  
 Manuque mobili  
 Dum plectra personat,  
 Et voce (quâ nec est,  
 Progne, sororculæ  
 Tuæ suavior)  
 Amoena cantilat,  
 Apollo quæ velit  
 Audire, carmina.*

*Jam te juvaverit  
 Sermone blandulo,  
 Docto tamen, dies  
 Noctesque ducere ;  
 Notare verbula  
 Mellita, maximis  
 Non absque gratiis  
 Ab ore melleo  
 Semper fluentia :  
 Quibus coërceat,  
 Si quando te levet  
 Inane gaudium ;  
 Quibus levaverit,  
 Si quando deprimat  
 Te mœror anxius :  
 Certabit in quibus  
 Summa eloquentia  
 Jam cum omnium gravi  
 Rerum scientiâ.*

*Talem olim ego putem*



*Et vatis Orphei  
 Fuisse conjugem ;  
 Nec unquam ab inferis  
 Curâset improbo  
 Labore fœminam  
 Referre rusticam.  
 Talemque credimus  
 Nasonis inclytam,  
 Quæ vel patrem queat  
 Æquare carmine,  
 Fuisse filiam.  
 Talemque suspicor  
 (Quâ nulla carior  
 Unquàm fuit patri,  
 Quo nemo doctior)  
 Fuisse Tulliam.  
 Talisque, quæ tulit  
 Gracchos duos, fuit ;  
 Quæ quos tulit bonis  
 Instruxit artibus,  
 Nec profuit minùs  
 Magistra quàm parens.  
 Quid prisca sæcula  
 Tandem revolvimus ?  
 Utcunque rusticum,  
 Unam tamen tenet  
 Nostrumque virginem ;  
 Tenet, sed unicam—  
 At sic, ut unicam  
 Plerisque præferat ;  
 Cuique conferat  
 Ex his fuisse, quæ  
 Narrantur omnibus  
 Tot retrò sæculis,  
 Quæ nunc et ultimam  
 Monet Britanniam  
 Perlata pennulis  
 Fama volucris :  
 Laus atque gloria*

*Orbis puellula  
 Totius unica,  
 Ac non modò suæ  
 Cassandra patriæ.  
 Dic ergo, Candide,  
 Si talis et tibi  
 Puella nuberet,  
 Quales ego tibi  
 Suprà recensui ;  
 Desit licèt queas  
 Formam requirere,  
 Dotisve quòd parum  
 Lucrere conqueri.  
 Hic sermo verus est—  
 Quæcunque sit, satis  
 Est bella, quæ placet ;  
 Nec quisquam habet magis,  
 Quam qui sibi satis,  
 Quodcunque habet, putat.  
 Si nunc me amet mea,  
 Ut nil ego tibi,  
 Amice, mentiar.  
 Cuicunque gratiam  
 Formæ negaverit  
 Natura virgini ;  
 Certè licèt siet  
 Carbone nigrior,  
 Foret tamen mihi hâc  
 Virtutis indole  
 Olore pulcrior :  
 Cuicunque lubrica  
 Dotem negaverit  
 Fortuna virgini ;  
 Certè siet licèt  
 Vel Iro egentior,  
 Foret tamen mihi hâc  
 Virtutis indole  
 Te, Cræse, ditior.*

*Translation.*

ENOUGH by vagrant love,  
 Dear youth, you've been misled;  
 O rise those joys above,  
 And quit the lawless bed.

Some consort in your arms,  
 Heart link'd to heart, embrace;  
 Who with transmitted charms  
 Your lengthening line may grace.

So did for you your sire:  
 The debt with interest due  
 Posterity require,  
 My Candidus, from you.

Nor be it chief your aim,  
 Fortune or face to seek!  
 Slight love attends the dame,  
 Sought for her purse or cheek.

No purer love can bear  
 The flame, which fortune fires:  
 It vanishes in air,  
 And ere it lives, expires.

Nay, fortune's courted charms  
 Fade in the miser's grasp,  
 When doom'd within his arms  
 An unloved spouse to clasp:

And beauty's vaunted power  
 By fever's tooth decays;  
 Or time-struck, like a flower,  
 Beneath the solar blaze.

Then vows are urged in vain—  
 With beauty's passing hue,  
 Bound singly by that chain,  
 Affection passes too.

But genuine is the love,  
 Which reason, virtue rears—  
 All fever's force above,  
 Above th' assault of years.

First scrutinise her birth ;  
Be sure her mother's mild :  
Oft with her milk her worth  
The mother gives her child.

Next in herself be seen  
Good temper's gentlest tone :  
Still placid be her mien,  
Unruffled by a frown.

And still, her cheek's best charm,  
Be her's sweet modesty—  
No lover-clasping arm,  
No love-provoking eye.

Far from her lip's soft door  
Be noise, be silence stern ;  
And her's be learning's store,  
Or her's the power to learn.

With books she'll time beguile,  
And make true bliss her own ;  
Unbuoy'd by fortune's smile,  
Unburthen'd by her frown.

So still, thy heart's delight  
And partner of thy way,  
She'll guide thy children right,  
And theirs—as dear as they.

So, left all meaner things,  
Thou'lt on her breast recline ;  
While notes of love she sings  
As Philomel's divine :

While still thy raptured gaze  
Is on her accents hung,  
As words of honied grace  
Steal from her honied tongue—

Words they, of power to sooth  
All idle joy or woe  
With learning's varied truth,  
With eloquence's flow !

Such Orpheus' wife, whose fate  
 With tears old fables tell;  
 Or never would her mate  
 Have fetch'd her back from hell.

Such Naso's daughter, she  
 Whose muse with Naso's vied:  
 And such might Tullia be,  
 Her learned father's pride.

The Gracchi's mother such,  
 Who train'd the sons she bore;  
 Famed as their mother much,  
 And as their tutress more.

But what to distant days  
 My lingering glance confines?  
 One girl, of equal grace,  
 E'en in this rude age shines:

Single, worth all, she stands;  
 By Fame, through Britain flown,  
 Hail'd—gaze of other lands,  
 Cassandra of her own.

Say, would a maid so rare  
 Within thy arms repose;  
 Were she nor rich nor fair,  
 Could'st thou decline her vows?

Enough of beauty hers,  
 With whom a husband's blest:  
 Enough of wealth she shares,  
 To whom enough's a feast.

So loved, were she (I swear)  
 Than soot of darker die,  
 I'd think her far more fair,  
 Than e'er met mortal eye:

So loved, were she (I swear)  
 Than poverty more poor,  
 I'd think her richer far,  
 Than kings with all their store.

F. W.

GRATULATUR, QUOD EAM REPERERIT INCOLUMEM, QUAM OLIM  
FERME PUER AMAVERAT.

*VIVIS adhuc, primis O me mihi carior annis,  
Redderis atque oculis, Elisabetha, meis.  
Quæ mala distinxit mihi te fortuna tot annos,  
Pænè puer vidi, pænè reviso senex.  
Annos vita quater mihi quatuor egerat ; inde  
Aut duo defuerant, aut duo pænè tibi :  
Quum tuus innocuo rapuit me vultus amore—  
Vultus, qui quò nunc fugit ab ore tuo?  
Cum quondam dilecta mihi succurrit imago,  
Hei facies quàm nil illius ista refert !  
Tempora quæ, teneræ nunquam non invida formæ,  
Te rapuere tibi, non rapuere mihi.  
Ille decor, nostros toties remoratus ocellos,  
Nunc tenet à vultu pectora nostra tuo.  
Languidus admoto solet ignis crescere flatu,  
Frigidus obruerat quem suus antè cinis :  
Tuque facis, quamvis longè diversa priori,  
Ut micet admonitu flamma vetusta novo.*

*Jam subit illa dies, quæ ludentem obtulit olim  
Inter virgineos te mihi prima choros :  
Lactea cum flavi decuerunt colla capilli,  
Cum gena par nivibus visa, labella rosis ;  
Cum tua perstringunt oculos duo sidera nostros,  
Perque oculos intrant in mea corda meos ;  
Cum velut attactu stupefactus fulminis hæsi,  
Pendulus à vultu tempora longa tuo ;  
Cum sociis risum exhibuit nostrisque tuisque  
Tam rudis, et simplex, et malè tectus amor.  
Sic tua me cepit species : seu maxima verè,  
Seu major visa est, quàm fuit, esse mihi ;  
Seu fuit in causâ primæ lanugis juventæ,  
Cumque novâ suetus pube venire calor ;  
Sidera seu quædam nostro communia natu  
Viribus afflârant utraque corda suis—  
Namque tui consors arcani conscia pectus  
Garrula prodiderat concaluisse tuum.  
Hinc datus est custos, ipsisque potentior astris  
Janua, quos vellet illa coire, vetat.*

*Ergo ita disjunctos, diversa que fata secutos,  
 Tot nunc post hyemes reddidit ista dies :  
 Ista dies, quæ rara meo mihi lætior ævo,  
 Contigit occursu sospitis alma tui.  
 Tu prædata meos olim sine crimine sensus,  
 Nunc quoque non ullo crimine cara manes.  
 Castus amor fuerat ; ne nunc incestior esset,  
 Si minùs hoc probitas, ipsa dies faceret.  
 At superos, qui lustra boni post quinque valentem  
 Te retulere mihi, me retulere tibi,  
 Comprecor ut lustris iterum post quinque peractis,  
 Incolumis rursus contuar incolumem !*

*Translation.*

TO ELIZA, WHOM HE LOVED IN HIS YOUTH.

THOU livest, Eliza, to these eyes restored,  
 O more than life in life's gay bloom adored !  
 Many a long year, since first we met, has roll'd :  
 I then was boyish, and I now am old.  
 Scarce had I bid my sixteenth summer hail,  
 And two in thine were wanting to the tale ;  
 When thy soft mien—ah ! mien, for ever fled !—  
 On my tranced heart it's guiltless influence shed.  
 When on my mind thy much-loved image steals,  
 And thy sweet long-lost former self reveals ;  
 Time's envious gripe appears but half unkind :  
 Torn from thyself, to me thou'rt left behind.  
 The grace that held my doting glance, though flown,  
 Has flown thy cheek to make my breast it's throne :  
 And as by gentle blasts the flame is fled,  
 And 'mid cold ashes rears it's languid head ;  
 So thou, though changed (ah changed indeed !) to view,  
 Kindlest the love, that once was thine, anew.

Now on my memory breaks that happy day,  
 When first I saw thee with thy mates at play :  
 On thy white neck the flaxen ringlet lies,  
 With snow thy cheek, thy lip with roses vies.  
 Thine eyes, twin stars, with arrowy radiance shine,  
 And pierce and sink into my heart through mine.  
 Struck as with heaven's own dart, I stand, I gaze ;  
 I hang upon thy look in fix'd amaze :

And, as I writhe beneath the new-felt spear,  
 My artless pangs our young companions jeer.  
 So charm'd me thy fair form ; or woman grown,  
 Or from it's ripen'd grace as woman known.  
 Whether the glow, that thrills our early frame,  
 Lit in my breast the undecaying flame ;  
 Or some kind planet, at our natal hour,  
 Deign'd on our hearts it's common beam to pour :  
 For one, who knew with what chaste warmth you burn'd,  
 Had blabb'd the secret of my love return'd.  
 Then the duenna, and the guarded door  
 Baffled the stars, and bade us meet no more.

Sever'd, our different fates we thence pursued,  
 Till this late day my raptures has renew'd.  
 This day, whose rare felicity I prize,  
 Has given thee safe to my delighted eyes.  
 Crimeless, my heart you stole in life's soft prime ;  
 And still possess that heart without a crime :  
 Pure was the love, which in my youth prevail'd ;  
 And age would keep it pure, if honour fail'd.  
 O may the gods, who five long lustres past,  
 Have brought us to each other well at last,  
 Grant that—when number'd five long lustres more,  
 Healthful, I still may hail thee healthful as before ! F. W.

EPITAPHIUM IN SEPULCRO JOHANNÆ, OLIM UXORIS MORI, DESTINANTIS IDEM SEPULCRUM ET SIBI ET ALICIÆ POSTERIORI UXORI.

*CARA Thomæ jacet hoc Johanna uxorcula Mori,  
 Qui tumulum Aliciæ hunc destino, quique mihi.  
 Una mihi dedit hoc conjuncta virentibus annis,  
 Me vocet ut puer et trina puella patrem.  
 Altera privignis (quæ gloria rara novercæ est !)  
 Tam pia, quam gnatis vix fuit ulla suis.  
 Altera sic mecum vixit, sic altera vivit,  
 Carior incertum est hæc sit, an hæc fuerit.  
 O simul, o juncti poteramus vivere nos tres  
 Quàm benè, si fatum relligioque sinant !  
 At societ. tumulus, societ nos obsecro cælum :  
 Sic mors, non potuit quod dare vita, dabit.*

*Translation.*

WITHIN this tomb Jane, wife of More, reclines :  
 This, More for Alice and himself designs.  
 The first, dear object of my youthful vow,  
 Gave me three daughters and a son to know ;  
 The next—ah ! virtue, in a step-dame rare !  
 Nursed my sweet infants with a mother's care.  
 With both my years so happily have past,  
 Which most my love, I know not—first, or last.  
 O ! had religion, destiny allow'd ;  
 How smooth'ly, mix'd, had our three fortunes flow'd !  
 But be we in the tomb, in heaven allied :  
 So kinder death shall grant what life denied.\* F. W.

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As a sample of the theological spirit of this illustrious bigot, a short extract is introduced from 'A Dialogue † of Sir Thomas More, Knight, one of the council of our Sovereign Lord the King, and Chancellor of his duchy of Lancaster. Wherein be treated divers matters ; as of the veneration and worship of images and relics, praying to saints, and going on pilgrimage ; with many other things touching the pestilent sect of Luther and Tyndale ; by the t'one begun in Saxony, and by the t'other laboured to be brought into England ; nearly overseen by the said Sir Thomas More, Chancellor of England, 1530.'

\* The above translations have been extracted from Mr. Cayley's accurate '*Memoirs of Sir Thomas More*,' I. 264, 268, 134.

† The other dialogist is the tutor of the children of a friend of his, who had sent him to More for the express purpose of discussing with him the various points then in dispute. The whole piece drew a reply from Tyndale, which was followed by More's 'Confutation,' in 1533 ; a work as vehement in spirit, and as absurd in argument, as that which it affected to defend.

This extract (it should be observed) is made, with the substitution of two or three modernised words and modern spelling, from the edition of Cawood, Wales, and Tottell, Anno 1557, IV. 1.



‘ When we had after dinner a little paused, your friend and I drew ourselves aside into the garden. And there sitting down in an arbour, he began to enter forth into the matter, saying, that ‘ he had well perceived, that not in his country only, but also in the university where he had been, there were that had none ill opinion of Luther; but thought that his books were by the clergy forbidden of malice and evil will, to the end that folks should not surely see and perfectly perceive what he saith, or at the least what thing he meaneth by his words; which will not appear, they think, by a line taken out in the midst of a leaf, but by the diligent consideration of the whole matter: without which men might impute a wrong blame, they say, to the best writers that ever wrote in this world. But they think that the clergy will not have his books read, because that in them laymen may read the priests’ faults; which was, they say, the very cause of the condemnation. For else, whether he had written well or evil, yet they say his books had been kept in men’s hands and read. For there is, they think, therein, though some part were naught, many things yet well said; whereof there was no reason, that men should lose the profit for the bad. And also reason men think it were, that all were heard that can be said touching the truth to be knowen, concerning the matters of our salvation, to the intent that all heard and perceived, men may for their own surety the better choose and hold the right way.’

“ Forsooth,” quod I, “ if it were now doubtful and ambiguous, whether the church of Christ were in the right rule of doctrine or not, then were it very necessary to give them all good audience, that could and

would any thing dispute on either party, for it or against it, to the end that if we were now in a wrong way, we might leave it and walk in some better. But now, on the other side, if it so be (as indeed it is) that Christ's church hath the true doctrine already, and the self-same that St. Paul would not give an angel of heaven audience to the contrary; what wisdom were it now therein to show ourselves so mistrustful and wavering, that for to search whether our faith were false or true, we should give hearing not to an angel of heaven, but to a fond friar; to an apostate; to an open incestuous lecher; a plain limb of the devil; and a manifest messenger of hell! In which words, if we would haply think that I use myself too sore, to call him by such odious names, ye must consider that he spareth not, both untruly and without necessity, in his railing books to call by as evil, them whom his duty were highly to reverence; whereas I do, between us twain, call him but as himself hath showed him in his writing, in his living, and in his mad marriage. And yet I neither do it, nor would, were it not that the matter-self of reason doth require it. For my part is it, of necessity, to tell how naught he is; because that the worse the man is, the more madness were it for wise men to give his false fables hearken-  
ing, against God's undoubted truth, by his Holy Spirit taught unto his church; and by such multitude of miracles, by so much blood of holy martyrs, by the virtuous living of so many blessed confessors; by the purity and cleanness of so many chaste widows and undefouled virgins, by the wholesome doctrine of so many holy doctors, and finally, by the whole consent and agreement of all Christian people this fifteen hundred years confirmed. And, therefore, not any

respect unto his railing against the clergy is, as some would have it seem, the cause of his condemnation and suppression of his books: for the good men of the clergy be not so sore grieved with them, that touch the faults of the bad; nor the bad themselves be not so tender-eared, that for the only talking of their faults they would banish the books, that were good in other things beside: for else could not the books of many old holy fathers have endured so long, wherein the vices of them, that in the clergy be naught, be very vehemently rebuked. But the very cause why his books be not suffered to be read is, because his heresies be so many and so abominable, and the proofs wherewith he pretendeth to make them probable be so far from reason and truth, and so far against the right understanding of Holy Scripture, whereof under colour of great zeal and affection he laboureth to destroy the credence and good use; and finally, so far stretcheth all things against good manner and virtue, provoking the world to wrong opinions of God and boldness in sin and wretchedness, that there can no good, but much harm grow by the reading. For if there were the substance good, and of error or oversight some cockle among the corn, which might be sifted out and the remnant stand instead, men would have been content therewith, as they be with such other. But now is his not besprent with a few spots, but with more than half venom poisoned the whole wine, and that right rotten of itself. And this done of purpose and malice, not without an evil spirit in suchwise walking with his words, that the contagion thereof were likely to infect a feeble soul, as the savour of a sickness sore infecteth a whole body.’”

I add his brief and distorted character of Richard III.:

‘ Richard, the third son, of whom we now entreat, was in wit and courage equal with either of them, in body and prowess far under them both; little of stature, ill-featured of limbs, crook-backed, his left shoulder much higher than his right, hard-favoured of visage, as such as is in states called warlike, in other men otherwise. He was malicious, wrathful, envious, and from afore his birth ever froward. It is for truth reported, that the Duchess his mother had so much ado in her travail, that she could not be delivered of him uncut; and that he came into the world with the feet forward, as men be borne outward; and (as the fame runneth) also not untoothed; whether men of hatred report above the truth, or else that nature changed her course in his beginning, who in the course of his life many things unnaturally committed.

‘ None evil captain was he in the war, as to which his disposition was more meetly than for peace. Sundry victories had he, and sometimes overthrows; but never in default as for his own person, either of hardiness or politic order. Free was he called of dispense, and somewhat above his power liberal. With large gifts he gat him unsteadfast friendship, for which he was fain to pillage and spoil in other places, and get him steadfast hatred. He was close and secret; a deep dissimuler; lowly of countenance; arrogant of heart; outwardly *coumpinable* where he inwardly hated, not letting to kiss whom he thought to kill; dispiteous and cruel, not for evil will alway; but after for ambition, and either for the surety or increase of his estate. Friend and foe was much-

what indifferent, where his advantage grew; he spared no man's death, whose life withstood his purpose. He slew with his own hands King Henry VI., being prisoner in the Tower.\*

In his 'Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation,' More has drawn so lively and characteristic a picture,

\* The classical reader may not be displeased to have an opportunity of seeing the same character portrayed in Latin by the same hand:

*Richardus hic, de quo præsens sermo instituitur, ingenio atque animi robore utrivis fratrum par, formâ probitateque utrique fuit inferior; habitu corporis exiguo, inæqualibus atque informibus membris, extanti dorso, alteroque humero erectior; os inamabile, torvum, ac planè ejusmodi quale bellicosum in purpuratis ac Martium appellari, in aliis aliter solet. Versipellis, iracundus, invidus, semperque etiam ante partum pravus: quippe quem fama est haud aliter alio maternâ eximi, quàm obstetricante ferro potuisse. Quin Agrippam etiam natum cum, pedibusque prælatis exiisse ferunt. Præterea, nec indentatum; sive aliquid adstruxit vero, odio natus rumor, sive natura futuri præscia præposterè multa in ejus ortu ostendere voluit, qui multa foret in vita contra naturæ fas designaturus.*

*Cæterùm bello haud instrenuus dux est habitus, cui quàm ad pacem naturâ fuit accommodatior: sæpè victor evasit; subinde etiam victus, quam rem ne æmulorum quidem quisquam ipsius aut inscitice aut ignavice unquam tribuit. Supra facultates profusus; quæ ne deficerent, ex aliis exhaurire cogeatur quod in alios effunderet. His artibus factum, ut amicitiam instabilem, stabile odium pareret. Consilia sua non aliis unquam credere, quàm per quos exequi necesse fuit; at ne iis ipsis quidem aut ante, aut amplius, quàm res urgebat. Personam quamlibet induere, gerereque et tueri gnaviter; hilarem, severam, gravem, remissam, prout sumere aut ponere suasit commodum. In cultu modestia; in animo fastus impotens, immanis. Verbis adblandiens his, quos intus impensè oderat; nec eorum abstinens complexibus, quos destinabat occidere: crudelis atque immitis, haud ob iram semper, sed ambitionis ergo sæpius, dum vel augendæ fortunæ suæ vel firmandæ studeret. Quippe amici inimicique æqua ratio fuit, comparati cum commodis; neque cujusquam morte abstinuit unquam, cujus vita*

designed no doubt to represent Cardinal Wolsey at the head of his own table, that though the extract is long, the reader I think will not be displeased with it's insertion; in the very orthography, too, for once, of the time when it was written. The title of the chapter is, 'Of Flattery.' III.

'Anthony. I pray you, Cosyn, tell on.

'Vyncent. Whan I was fyrste in Almane, Uncle, it happed me to bee somewhat favoured with a great manne of the churche, and a great state, one of the greatest in all that countrey there. And indeede who-soever might spende as muche as hee mighte in one thinge and other, were a ryght great estate in anye countrey of Christendom. But glorious was hee verye farre above all measure, and that was great pitie, for it dyd harne, and made him abuse many great gyftes that god hadde geven him. Never was he sate of hearinge his owne prayse.

'So happed it one day, that he had in a great audience made an oracion in a certayne maner, where in he liked himselfe so well, that at his diner he sat, him thought on thornes, till he myghte here how thei that sat with him at his borde woulde commende it. And whan he had sitte musing a while, devysing (as I thought after) uppon some prety proper waye to bryng it in with all, at the laste, for lacke of a better (lest he should have letted the matter to long) he broughte it even blontly forth, and asked us al that satte at his bordes end (for at his owne messe in the middes ther sat but himself alone) howe well we

*videretur consiliis suis obstare. Constans fama est Henricum Sextum, dum excitus regno in arce Londinensi captivus adservaretur, ab isto (crudeliter adacto sub costas pugione) confossum ac trucidatum, &c. &c. (Hist. Reg. Rich. III.)*

lyked his oracyon that he hadde made that daye. But in fayth, Uncle, whan that probleme was once proponed, till it was full aunswered, no manne (I wene) eate one morsell of meate more. Every manne was fallen in so depe a studye, for the fyndynge of some exquisite prayse. For he that shoulde have brought oute but a vulgare and a common commendacion woulde have thought himself shamed for ever. Than sayde we our sentences by rowe as wee sat, from the lowest unto the hyghest in good order, as it had bene a great mater of the comon weale, in a right solempne counsayle. Whan it came to my parte, I wyll not saye it (Uncle, for no boaste) mee thoughte, by our Ladye, for my parte, I quytte my selfe metelye wel.

‘ And I lyked my selfe the better, beecause mee thoughte my woordes beeinge but a straungyer, wente yet with some grace in the Almain tong, wherein lettyng my latin alone me listed to shewe my cunnyng. And I hoped to be lyked the better, because I sawe that he that sate next me, and shold saie his sentence after mee, was an unlearned Prieste, for he coulde speake no latin at all. But whan he came furth for hys part with my Lordes commendacion, the wyly Fox hadde be so well accustomed in courte with the crafte of flattery, that he wente beyonde me to to farre.

‘ And than myght I see by hym, what excellence a right meane witte may come to in one crafte, that in al his whole life studyeth and busieth his witte about no mo but that one. But I made after a solempne vowe unto my selfe, that if ever he and I were matched together at that boorde agayne; whan we should fall to our flatterye, I would flatter in latin, that he should not contende with me nomore. For though I could be content to be out runne of an horse, yet would I

no more abyde it to be out runne of an asse. But, Uncle, here beganne nowe the game. He that sate hygheste, and was to speake, was a greate beneficed man, and not a doctour onely, but also somewhat learned in dede in the lawes of the churche. A worlde it was, to see howe he marked every mannes worde that spake before him. And it seemed that every worde the more proper it was, the worse he liked it, for the cumbraunce that he had to study out a better to passe it. The manne even swette with the labour, so that he was fain in the while now and than to wipe his face. Howbeit, in conclusion, whan it came to his course, we that had spoken before him, hadde so taken up al among us before, that we hadde not lefte hym one wyse worde to speake after.

‘*Anthony.* Alas, good manne! amonge so manye of you, some good felow shold have lente hym one.

‘*Vincent.* It needed not, as happe was, Uncle. For he found out such a shift, that in hys flatteryng he passed us all the myany.

‘*Anthony.* Why, what sayde he, Cosyn?

‘*Vincent.* By our Ladye, Uncle, not one worde. But lyke as, I trow, Plinius telleth, that whan Appelles the Paynter, in the table that he paynted of the sacryfyce and the death of Iphigenia, hadde in the makynge of the sorrowefull countenaunces of the other noble menne of Greece that beehelde it, spent out so much his craft and hys cunnynge, that when he came to make the countenance of king Agamemnon her father, whiche hee reserved for the laste—he could devise no maner of newe heavy chere and countenance—but to thentent that no man should see what maner countenance it was, that her father hadde, the paynter was fayne to paynte hym, holdyng his face in his handkercher.



' The like pageant in a maner plaide us there this good aunciente honourable flatterer. For whan he sawe that he coulde fynde no woordes of prayse, that woulde passe al that hadde bene spoken before all readye, the wyly Fox woulde speake never a word, but as he that wer ravished unto heavenward with the wonder of the wisdom and eloquence that my Lordes grace hadde uttered in that Oracyon, he fette a longe syghe, with an oh from the bottome of hys breaste, and helde uppe bothe hys handes, and lyfte uppe his head, and caste up his eyen into the welkin and wepte.

' *Anthony.* Forsooth, Cosyn, he plaide his parte verye properlye.\*

A specimen of his elegant Latinity and his political philosophy is supplied at once by a passage from his '*Utopia*,' where, upon the recently-agitated question of Capital Punishments, he argues under the assumed name of Raphael Hythlodæus, as follows:

' *Fortè fortunâ, quum die quodam in ejus (sc Mortoni Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi et Cardinalis, ac tum quoque Angliæ Cancellarii) mensâ essem, laicus quidam legum vestratium peritus aderat: is, nescio unde nactus occasionem, cœpit accuratè laudare rigidam illam justitiam, quæ tum illic exercebatur in fures, quos passim narrabat nonnunquam suspendi viginti in unâ cruce; atque eo vehementius dicebat se mirari, cùm tam pauci elaberentur supplicio, quo malo fato fieret uti tam multi tamen ubique grassarentur. Tum ego, ausus enim sum liberè apud Cardinalem loqui, "Nihil mireris (inquam), nam hæc punitio furum et supra justum est, et non ex usu publico. Est enim ad vindicanda furta nimis atrox, nec tamen ad refrænanda sufficiens. Quippe neque furtum simplex tam ingens facinus est, ut capite debeat plecti; neque ulla pœna est tanta, ut ab latrociniis cohibeat eos, qui nullam aliam artem quærendi victûs habent. Itaque hâc in re non vos modò, sed bona pars hujus orbis imitari videtur malos*

\* A farther view of Wolsey's character will be given in the Extracts attached to the Life of Lord Burghley.

*præceptores, qui discipulos verberant libentius quam decent. Decernuntur enim furanti gravia atque horrenda supplicia, cum potius multò fuerit providendum uti aliquis esset proventus vitæ, ne cuiquam tam dira sit furandi primum, dehinc pereundi necessitas.*" \* \* \* "*Certè, nisi his malis medemini, frustra jactetis exercitam in vindicanda furta justitiam, nempe speciosam magis quàm aut justam aut utilem. Siquidem quum pessimè sinitis educari, et mores paulatim ab teneris annis corrumpi, puniendos videlicet tum demum quum ea flagitia viri designent, quorum spem de se perpetuam à pueritiâ usque præbuerant—quid aliud quæro quàm facitis fures, et iidem plectitis?"*

*' Jam me hæc loquente, juris ille consultus interim se ad dicendum composuerat, ac statuerat secum modo illo solenni disputantium uti, qui diligentius repetunt quàm respondent; adeò bonam partem laudis ponunt in memoriâ. " Bellè (inquit) dixisti profectò, quum sis videlicet hospes, qui magis audire his de rebus aliquid potueris, quàm exactè quicquam cognoscere; id quod ago paucis efficiam perspicuum. Nam primum adire recensebo quæ tu dixisti: deinde ostendam, quibus in rebus imposuit tibi nostrarum rerum ignoratio: postremò, rationes tuas omnes diluam atque dissolvam. Igitur ut à primo, quod sum pollicitus, exordiar, quatuor mihi visus es—" " Tace," inquit Cardinalis; " nam haud responsurus paucis videris, qui sic incipias. Quamobrem levabimus in præsentem te hæc respondendi molestiâ; servoaturi tamen integrum id munus tibi in proximum congressum vestrum, quem (nisi quid impediât aut te, aut Raphaelē hunc) crastinus dies velim referat. Sed interim abs te, mi Raphael, perquam libenter audiērim, quare tu furtum putes ultimo supplicio non puniendum; quamve aliam poenam ipse statuas, quæ magis conducat in publicum: nam tolerandum ne tu quidem sentis. At si nunc per mortem quoque in furtum ruitur, propositâ semel vitæ securitate quæ vis, quis metus posset abstertere maleficos; qui mitigatione supplicii, velut præmio quodam, ad maleficium se invitatos interpretarentur?" " Omnino mihi videtur," inquam, " pater benignissime, homini vitam eripi propter ereptam pecuniam prorsus iniquum esse. Siquidem cum humanâ vitâ ne omnibus quidem fortunæ possessionibus paria fieri posse arbitror. Quod si læsam justitiam, si leges violatas hæc rependi poenâ dicant, haud pecuniam; quidni meritò summum illud jus summa vocetur injuriâ? Nam neque legum probanda sunt tam Manliana imperia, ut sicubi in levissimum parum obtemperetur, illicò stringant gladium: neque tam Stoica scita, ut omnia peccata adeò existiment paria, uti nihil judicent interesse occidatne aliquis hominem, an nummum ei surripiat; inter quæ, si quicquam æquitas valet, nihil*

omnino simile aut affine. Deus vetuit occidi quemquam; et nos tam facile occidimus ob ademptam pecuniolam? Quid si quis interpretetur illo Dei jussu interdictam necis potestatem, nisi quatenus humana lex declaret occidendum; quid obstat, quominus homines eodem modo constituent inter se quatenus stuprum admittendum sit, adulterandum, pejerandum? Siquidem quum Deus non aliena modò, verùm etiam suæ cuique mortis jus ademerit, si hominum inter se consensus de mutuâ cæde certis placitis consentientium adeò debet valere, ut illius præcepti vinculis eximat suos satellites, qui sine ullo exemplo Dei eos interemerint quos humana sanctio jussit occidi; annon hoc pacto præceptum illud Dei tantum juris est habiturum, quantum humana jura permiserint? Ac fiet nimirum, ut ad eundem modum omnibus in rebus statuant homines, quatenus divina mandata conveniat observari! Denique lex Mosaisca, quanquam inclemens et aspera, nempe in servos et quidem obstinatos lata, tamen pecuniâ furtum, haud morte multavit. Ne putemus Deum in novâ lege clementiæ, quam pater imperat filiis, majorem indulsisse nobis invicem sæviendi licentiam. Hæc sunt, cur non licere patem. Quàm verò sit absurdum atque etiam perniciosum reipublicæ furem atque homicidam ex æquo puniri, nemo est opinor qui nesciat. Nempe quum latro conspiciat non minus imminere discriminis duntaxat furti damnato, quàm si præterea convincatur homicidii, hæc unâ cogitatione impellitur in cædem ejus, quem alioqui fuerat tantum spoliaturus: quippe præterquam quòd deprehenso nihil sit plus periculi, est etiam in cæde securitas major, et major celandi spes sublato facinoris indice. Itaque dum fures nimis atrociter studemus perterrefacere, in bonorum incitamus perniciem.

Jam, quod quæri solet, 'Quæ punitio possit esse commodior?' Hoc, meo judicio, haud paulò facilius est repertu, quàm quæ possit esse deterior. Cur enim dubitemus eam viam utilem esse castigandis sceleribus, quam ecimus olim tam diu placuisse Romanis, administrandæ reipublicæ peritissimis? Nempe hi magnorum facinorum convictos in lapidicinas atque fodienda metalla damnabant, perpetuis adservandos vinculis. Quamquam ego, quod ad hac rem attinet, nullius institutum gentis magis probo quàm id quod interea, dum peregrinabar in Perside, observatum apud vulgò dictos Polyleritas adnotavi: populum neque exiguum neque imprudenter institutum, et nisi quod tributum quotannis Persarum pendit regi, cætera liberum ac suis permissum legibus. Cæterum quoniam longè ab mari, montibus ferè circumdati, et suæ terræ nullâ in re malignæ contenti fructibus, neque adeunt alios sæpè neque adeuntur; tamen ex vetusto more gentis neque fines prorogare student, et quos habent ab omni facile injuriâ et montes tuentur et pensio, quam

rerum potienti persolvunt. Immunes prorsus ab militiâ, haud perindè splendidè atque commodè, felicesque magis quàm nobiles aut clari degunt; quippe ne nomine quidem opinor, præterquam conterminis, admodum satis noti. Ergo apud hos furti qui peraguntur, quod sustulere domino reddunt, non quod alibi fieri solet, principi (utpote cui tantum juris esse censeant in rem furtivam, quantum ipsi furi); sin res periêrit, pretio ex bonis furum confecto ac persoluto: tum reliquo uxoribus eorum atque liberis integro, ipsi damnantur in opera, ac nisi atrociter commissum furtum est, neque clauduntur ergastulo, neque gestant compedes, sed liberi ac soluti in publicis occupantur operibus. Detrectantes, ac languidiùs gerentes sese, non tam vinculis coërcent, quàm excitant verberibus: strenuam navantes operam absunt à contumeliis, noctu tamen nominatim censiti cubiculis includuntur. Præter assiduum laborem, nihil incommodum est in vitâ. Aluntur enim haud duriter: qui publicæ rei serviunt, è publico; alibi aliter. Siquidem alicubi quod impenditur in eos ex eleemosynâ colligitur; atque eâ viâ quanquam incertâ, tamen ut est ille populus misericors, nulla reperitur uberior. Alibi redditus quidam publici ad id destinantur. Est ubi certum in eos usus tributum viritim conferunt. Quin aliquot in locis nullum publicum opus faciunt; sed ut privatus quisque eget mercenariis, ita illorum cujuscumque in eum diem operam statâ mercede conducit apud forum, paulo minoris quàm quanti liberam fuerat conducturus: præterea fas est servilem ignaviam flagris corripere. Sic fit, uti nunquam opere careant; et præter victum aliquid quoque die ab singulis publico inferatur ærario. Uno quodam colore vestiuntur et omnes et soli, capillo non abrasso, verùm paulò supra auriculas attonso, è quarum alterâ paululum præscinditur. Cibum cuique ab amicis dari, potumque, ac sui coloris vestem licet: pecuniam datam esse danti pariter atque accipienti capitale; neque minus periculosum etiam homini libero quâcunque de causâ nummum à damnato recepisse, et 'servos' item (sic enim damnatos vocant) arma contingere. Suos quæque regio propriâ distinguit notâ, quam abjecisse capitale est; ut vel extra suos conspici fines, vel cum alterius regionis servo quicquam esse colloquutum. At neque tutior fugæ meditatio, quàm ipsa est fuga. Quin conscius talis fuisse consilii in servo nex est, in libero servitus. Contrâ indici præmia decreta sunt: libero pecunia, servo libertas, utrique verò venia atque impunitas conscientiae; ne quando persequi malum consilium quàm poenitere sit tutius.

‘Hujus rei hæc lex atque hic ordo est, quem dixi; qui quantum habeat humanitatis et commodi, facilè patet: quando sic irascitur, ut vitia perimat servatis hominibus, atque ita tractatis ut bonos esse

*necesse sit, et quantum ante damni dederunt tantum reliquâ vitâ resarciant. Porro ne ad pristinos relabantur mores adeò nullus est metus, ut viatores quoque quibus iter aliquò institutum est, non aliis viæ ducibus sese tutiores arbitrentur, quàm servis illis ad quamque regionem subinde commutatis. Nempe ad perpetrandum latrocinium nihil habent usquam non importunum; manus inermes, pecunia tantùm sceleris index, deprehenso parata vindicta, neque spes ulla prorsus fugiendi quòquam. Quo enim pacto falleret ac tegeret fugam homo nullâ vestium parte populo similis, nisi abeat nudus? Quin sic quoque fugientem proderet auricula. At ne inito saltem concilio conjurent in rempublicam, id demum scilicet periculum est. Quasi in tantam venire spem ulla possit vicinia, non tentatis ac sollicitatis ante multarum regionum servitiis; quæ tantùm absunt à facultate conspirandi, ut ne convenire quidem et colloqui aut salutare se mutuò liceat: ut credantur interim id consilium intrepidè credituri suis quod reticentibus periculosum, prodentibus maximo esse bono sciant! Quum contrà nemo sit prorsus exspes, obediendo ac perferendo bonamque de se præbendo spem emendationis in posterum vitæ, posse his modis fieri ut libertatem aliquando recuperet; quippe nullo non anno restitutis aliquot commendatione patientiæ.”*

*‘Hæc quum dixissem, atque adjecissem ‘nihil mihi videri causæ, quare non hic modus haberi vel in Angliâ possit multo majore cum fructu quàm illa justitia, quam juris ille peritus tantopere laudaverat’—sub hæc ille (nempe jure còsultus) “Nunquam,” inquit, “istud sic stabiliri queat in Angliâ, ut non in summum discrimen adducat rempublicam:” et simul hæc dicens commovit caput, ac distorsit labrum, atque ita conticuit. Et omnes, qui aderant, pedibus in ejus ibant sententiam. Tum Cardinalis, “Non est,” inquit, “proclive divinare commodè an secus res cessura sit, nullo prorsus facto periculo. Verùm si pronunciatâ mortis sententiâ differre executionem jubeat princeps, atque hunc experiatur morem, cõhibitis asyloꝝ privilegiis, tum verò si res comprobetur eventu esse utilis, rectum fuerit eam stabiliri; alioqui tunc quoque afficere supplicio eos, qui sunt ante damnati, neque minus è republicâ fuerit, neque magis injustum quàm si nunc idem fieret, nec ullum interea nasci ex eâ re potest periculum. Quin mihi certè videntur Errones quoque ad eundem posse modum non pessimè tractari, in quos hactenus tam multis editis legibus nihil promovimus tamen.’ Hæc ubi dixit Cardinalis, quæ me narrante contempserant omnes, eadem nemo non certatim laudibus est prosequutus, maximè tamen illud de Erronibus, quoniam hoc ab ipso adjectum est.’*

*Translation.\**

‘ One day when I was dining with him (Archbishop Morton) there happened to be at table one of the English lawyers, who took occasion to run out in a high commendation of the severe execution of justice upon thieves, who (as he said) were then hanged so fast, that there were sometimes twenty on one gibbet; and upon that he said, ‘ he could not wonder enough how it came to pass, that since so few escaped, there were yet so many thieves left who were still robbing in all places.’ Upon this, I who took the boldness to speak freely before the Cardinal, said, ‘ There was no reason to wonder at the matter, since this way of punishing thieves was neither just in itself, nor good for the public; for as the severity was too great, so the remedy was not effectual: simple theft not being so great a crime, that it ought to cost a man his life; and no punishment, how severe soever, being able to restrain those from robbing, who can discover no other way of livelihood.’ “ In this,” said I, “ not only you in England, but a great part of the world, imitate some ill masters, that are readier to chastise their scholars, than to teach them. There are dreadful punishments enacted against thieves; but it were much better to make such good provisions, by which every man might be put in a method how to live, and so be preserved from the fatal necessity of stealing, and of dying for it.”

There is then a long discussion between the parties, upon the causes of theft, which concludes in the following manner:

\* The translation I extract from Montagu on the ‘ Punishment of Death.’

“If you do not find a remedy to these evils, it is a vain thing to boast of your severity in punishing theft; which, though it may have the appearance of justice, yet in itself is neither just nor convenient: for if you suffer your people to be ill-educated, and their manners to be corrupted from their infancy, and then punish them for those crimes to which their first education disposed them, what else is to be concluded from this, but that you first make thieves, and then punish them?”

‘While I was talking thus, the Counsellor who was present had prepared an answer, and had resolved to resume all I had said according to the formality of a debate, in which things are generally repeated more faithfully than they are answered; as if the chief trial to be made were of men’s memories.

“You have talked prettily for a stranger,” said he, “having heard of many things among us, which you have not been able to consider well; but I will make the whole matter plain to you, and will first repeat in order all that you have said; then I will show, how much your ignorance of our affairs has misled you, and will in the last place answer all your arguments.

And that I may begin where I promised, there were four things”—“Hold your peace,” said the Cardinal,

“this will take up too much time; therefore we will at present ease you of the trouble of answering, and reserve it to our next meeting, which shall be to-morrow, if Raphael’s affairs and yours can admit of it: but, Raphael (said he to me) I would gladly know upon what reason it is, that you think theft ought not to be punished by death? Would you give way to it; or do you propose any other punishment, that will be more useful to the public? For



since death does not restrain theft, if men thought their lives would be safe, what fear or force could restrain ill men? On the contrary, they would look on the mitigation of the punishment, as an invitation to commit more crimes." I answered, "It seems to me a very unjust thing to take away a man's life for a little money; for nothing in the world can be of equal value with a man's life: and if it is said, that it is not for the money that one suffers, but for his breaking the law, I must say, 'extreme justice is an extreme injury:' for we ought not to approve of these terrible laws that make the smallest offences capital; nor of that opinion of the Stoics, that makes 'all crimes equal;' as if there were no difference to be made between the killing of a man, and the taking of his purse, between which (if we examine things impartially) there is no likeness nor proportion. God has commanded us, 'not to kill;' and shall we kill so easily for a little money? But if one shall say, that by that law we are only forbidden to kill, except when the laws of the land allow of it; upon the same grounds, laws may be made in some cases to allow of rape, adultery, and perjury: for God having taken from us the right of disposing, either of our own or of other people's lives, if it is pretended that the mutual consent of men in making laws can authorise manslaughter in cases in which God has given us no example, that it frees people from the obligation of the divine law, and so makes murder a lawful action; what is this, but to give a preference to human laws before the divine? And, if this is once admitted, by the same rule men may in all other things put what restrictions they please upon the laws of God! If by the Mosaical law,



though it was rough and severe (as being a yoke laid upon an obstinate and servile nation) men were only fined, and not put to death for theft; we cannot imagine that in this new law of mercy, in which God treats us with the tenderness of a father, he has given us a greater licence to cruelty than he did to the Jews. Upon these reasons it is, that I think putting thieves to death is not lawful: and it is plainly and obviously absurd, and of ill consequence to the commonwealth, that a thief and a murtherer should be equally punished. For if a robber sees that his danger is the same if he is convicted of theft, as if he were guilty of murther, this will naturally invite him to kill the person whom otherwise he would only have robbed; since, the punishment being the same, there is more security and less danger of discovery, when he that can best make it is put out of the way: so that terrifying thieves too much provokes them to cruelty.

‘ But as to the question, ‘ What more convenient way of punishment can be found?’ I think it much more easy to find that, than to find any way that is worse. Why indeed should we doubt, but that the way so long in use among the old Romans, who well understood the arts of government, was very proper for their punishment? They condemned such as they found guilty of great crimes, to work their whole lives in quarries, or to dig in mines with chains about them.\*

\* So Erasmus in his ‘ *Exomologesis, seu Modus Confitendi* :’  
 ‘ *Quanquam profanus etiam magistratus consultius faceret, si operis in usum reipublicæ indictis castigaret quædam furtorum genera aut alia facinora—gravia quidem illa, sed leviora quàm ut capite plecti debeant, præsertim apud Christianos—quàm si reos inurant aut mutilent. Velut olim nexi præstabant operam creditoribus; et alii vincti fodiebant in agris, cædebant materiem,*

But the method I liked best was that, which I observed in my travels in Persia; among the Polylerits, who are a considerable and well-governed people. They pay a yearly tribute to the King of Persia; but, in all other respects, they are a free nation and governed by their own laws. They lie far from the sea, and are environed with hills: contented with the productions of their own country, which is very fruitful, they have little commerce with any other nation; and as (according to the genius of their country) they have no inclination to enlarge their borders, so their mountains, and the pension they pay to the Persians, secure them from all invasions. Thus they have no wars among them; they live rather conveniently than with splendor, and may more properly be called an happy nation, than either eminent or famous: for I do not think, that they are known so much as by name to any but their next neighbours. Those, that are found guilty of theft among them, are bound to make restitution to the owner; and not, as in other places, to the prince (for they reckon that the prince has no more right to the stolen goods than the thief); but if that which was stolen is no more in being, then the goods of the robbers are estimated, and after restitution is made out of them, the remainder is given to their wives and children, and they themselves are condemned to serve in the public works; not imprisoned, or chained, unless there happened to be some extraordinary circumstances in their crimes. They go about loose and free, working for the public: if they are idle

*et sunt ex his qui nōrunt artem sedentariam; his ergastula conveniebant. Hoc pœnæ genus duplicem habet utilitatem: et emendat nocentes, non extinguit; et conducit reipublicæ, vel ei qui maleficio læsus est.* (Op. V. 167. Ed. Le Clerc.)

or backward to work, they are whipped; but if they work hard, they are well used and treated without any mark of reproach, only the lists of them are always called at night, and they are then shut up. They suffer no uneasiness, except this of constant labour; for as they work for the public, so they are well entertained out of the public stock. This is done differently in different places: in some places, whatever is bestowed upon them is raised by a charitable contribution; and though this way may seem uncertain, yet so merciful are the inclinations of that people, that they are plentifully supplied by it: in others, public revenues are set aside for them, or there is a constant tax of a poll-money raised for their maintenance. In other places again, they are not set to any public work; but every private man, who is in want of workmen, goes to the market-place, and hires them of the public a little lower than he would a freeman: and, if they go lazily about their task, he may quicken them with the whip. Thus, there is always some piece of work or other to be done by them; and, beside their livelihood, they earn somewhat still for the public. They all wear a peculiar habit of one certain colour, their hair is cropped a little above their ears, and a piece of one of their ears is cut off. Their friends are allowed to give them either meat, drink, or clothes, so they are of their proper colour; but it is death, both to the giver and taker, if they furnish them with money: nor is it less penal for any freeman to take money from them, upon any account whatsoever; and it is, also, death for any of these 'slaves' (so they are called) to handle arms. Those of each division of the country are distinguished by a peculiar mark, which it is capital

for them to lay aside, as it is likewise to go beyond their bounds, or to talk with a slave of another jurisdiction; and the very attempt of an escape is not less penal than an escape itself: it is death for any other slave to be accessory to it; and if a freeman engages in it, he is condemned to slavery; those who discover it are rewarded, if freemen, in money; and if slaves, with liberty, together with a pardon for being accessory to it: that so they may find their account, rather in repenting of their having countenanced such a design, than in promoting it.

‘ These are their laws and rules in relation to robbery; and they are obviously as advantageous, as they are mild and gentle: since not only is vice destroyed, and men preserved, but they are treated in such a manner as to make them see the necessity of being honest, and of employing the rest of their lives in repairing the injuries which they have formerly done to society. Neither is there any hazard of their falling back to their old customs. And so little do travellers apprehend mischief from them, that they generally make use of them for guides from one jurisdiction to another: for there is nothing left them, by which they can rob, or be the better for it; since they are disarmed, and the very having of money is a sufficient conviction. And as they are certainly punished, if discovered, so they cannot hope to escape; for their habit being in all it's parts different from what is commonly worn, they can only have a chance of escaping naked, and even then their cropped ear would betray them. The only danger to be feared from them is, their conspiring against the government: but those of one division and neighbourhood can do

nothing to any purpose, unless a general conspiracy were laid among all the slaves of the several jurisdictions: and this is impossible, as they cannot meet or talk together; nor will any venture upon a design, where the concealment would be so dangerous, and the discovery so profitable. None are quite hopeless of recovering their freedom, since by their obedience and patience, and by giving good grounds to believe that they will change their manner of life for the future, they may expect at last to obtain their liberty: and some are annually restored to it, upon the good character that is given of them."

' When I had related all this, I added, that ' I did not see why such a method might not be followed in England with more advantage, than could ever be expected from that severe justice, which the counsellor so much magnified.' To this he answered, that ' it could never take place in England, without endangering the whole nation: ' shook his head, made some grimaces, and held his peace. All the company seemed of his opinion except the Cardinal, who said, that ' it was not easy to form a judgement of it's success, since it was a method that never yet had been tried: ' but " if," said he, " when sentence of death is passed upon a thief, the Prince would reprieve him for a while, and make the experiment upon him, denying him the privilege of a sanctuary; then, should a good effect be produced upon him, it might take place; and if it did not succeed, the worst would be, to execute the sentence on the condemned person at last. And I do not see (added he) why it should be either unjust if convenient, or at all dangerous, to admit of such a delay. In my opinion too, Vagrants ought to be treated in the same

manner; against whom, though we have made many laws, yet we have not been able to gain our end." This motion, as made by the Cardinal, they all commended, though they had despised it when it came from me; but more particularly what related to Vagrants, because it was his own observation.'

**JOHN FISHER,  
BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.\***

[1459—1535.]

**F**ROM the close connexion between the memoirs and the fate of this illustrious prelate with those of Sir Thomas More, the total omission of his history might mislead the reader into an opinion, that the Chancellor was the sole victim to the King's exasperation on the contested points of his divorce and his supremacy.

John Fisher was the son of a merchant of Beverley, in Yorkshire, where he was born in the year 1459. His father dying while he was young, the care of his education devolved upon his mother, who with the view of preparing him for the church sent him to Cambridge in 1484. In 1491, he was admitted M. A; and in 1495 was appointed one of the Proctors of the university, and elected Master of Michael House, the college in which he had been educated.†

\* AUTHORITIES. *Biographia Britannica*, Balley's *Life of Fisher*, Walpole's *Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors*, and Burnet's *History of the Reformation*.

† Now incorporated into Trinity College.

In 1501, he went through his public exercises for the degree of D. D. with unusual credit.

As Henry VII.'s eldest son Arthur was at this time alive, Prince Henry (afterward Henry VIII.) who was designed for an ecclesiastic, was placed under the tuition of Dr. Fisher. In this situation his merits were speedily discerned by his pupil's grandmother, Margaret Countess of Richmond, a lady equally eminent for her piety, her talents, and her virtues. She appointed him her chaplain and confessor, in which station he so entirely gained her esteem, that in all her worldly as well as spiritual concerns she acted wholly under his advice and direction. Of this confidence the universities speedily reaped the benefit; for in 1502, under his recommendation, she founded two perpetual Divinity-Lectures, one at Oxford, and the other at Cambridge. Of the latter, Dr. Fisher was appointed the first professor. In 1504, from the honourable mention frequently made of him by Fox bishop of Winchester, he was promoted to the see of Rochester; and it is greatly to his honour, that though it was at that time the least valuable of all the English bishoprics, and he had subsequently the offer of the more affluent sees of Lincoln and Ely, he never would exchange it. It was his custom to call his church 'his wife;' and he would sometimes say, in his more advanced years, that 'he would not give up his little old wife, to whom he had been so long wedded, for a wealthier'. "Though others," he added, "have larger revenues, I have fewer souls under my care; so that when I shall have to give an account of both, which must be very soon, I would not desire my condition to have been better than it is."



In the same year, he was chosen Chancellor of the university; and throughout the ten years, during which he held that high office, he showed himself a zealous promoter of discipline and good morals among the students, and a liberal patron of learning and learned men. Upon his resignation and suggestion Wolsey, then Bishop of Lincoln, was elected his successor. But he thinking proper to decline the honour, Fisher was immediately re-elected Chancellor for life. During his first tenure of this dignity, he invited Erasmus to Cambridge, and by his interest placed that illustrious foreigner first in Lady Margaret's Divinity,\* and afterward in the Greek Professor's chair.†

In 1509, he was deprived by death of his royal benefactress, whose numerous acts of liberality in favour of piety and literature have transmitted her memory with distinguished honour to posterity.‡ Among others, her foundations of Christ's and St. John's Colleges § in Cambridge are lasting monu-

\* In this chair Fisher had been intermediately succeeded by Cosin, Master of Bene't College, and Burgoing afterward Master of Peter House.

† By his persuasion likewise Dr. Croke settled at Cambridge, and succeeded Erasmus in the latter professorship.

‡ This illustrious lady, who by her birth and her marriage with the Earl of Richmond was related to thirty Kings and Queens within the fourth degree of blood or affinity, frequently declared, that 'if the Princes of Christendom would combine to march against their common enemy the Turks, she would most willingly attend them as their laundress in the camp.'

§ The wealth appropriated to these two foundations she had originally intended for the religious house at Westminster, where her son Henry VII. had projected a sumptuous chapel for his own interment: and it was chiefly by Fisher's representations

The Bishop had, also, made himself many enemies by his violent zeal against Luther and his followers: for, not content with preaching against him, he had published a vindication of Henry VIII.'s book, entitled, 'An Assertion of the Seven Sacraments against Martin Luther,\* which though fully refuted by that reformer, procured from the Pope for it's royal author the title of 'Defender of the Faith;' "A title," says Mr. Horace Walpole, "which by a singular felicity in the wording of it suited Henry equally well, when he burned Papists or Protestants: it suited each of his daughters, Mary and Elizabeth: it fitted the martyr Charles, and the profligate Charles; the Romish James, and the Calvinist William;—and at last seemed peculiarly adapted to the weak head of high-church Anne."

In conjunction with Sir Thomas More, likewise, Fisher seized all the books of Lutheranism, as well as those which contained any of the opinions of the Wickliffites or Lollards, and punished such persons in his diocese as were convicted of following the errors of the arch-heretics, from whom those sects were denominated. He had even formed a design of going to Rome, in order to concert measures with the Pope for opposing the progress of the new doctrines; when he was diverted from it by Wolsey's convoking a synod of the English clergy for the same purpose. In that synod, notwithstanding his bigoted attachment to the papal see, he plainly and honestly enforced the necessity of a reformation in the morals of the clergy, and not very gently or obscurely reflected (as above-stated)

\* By some, Fisher has been thought to have had no inconsiderable concern in the work itself.

upon the arrogance and the ambition of the Cardinal himself.

In 1530, he twice incurred the very imminent hazard of his life. One Richard Rouse had entered his kitchen, and while his cook went out to fetch him some drink, seized that opportunity of putting poison into the gruel, which was preparing for the family-dinner. Fortunately for the Bishop, through indisposition he did not eat of the mess. Upon this occasion an act of parliament was made, which declared poisoning to be high-treason, and adjudged the offender to be boiled to death.\* His second danger proceeded from a cannon-ball, which was discharged from the other side of the Thames, and penetrated very near his study in his house at Lambeth Marsh, where he used to spend the greater part of his time. Upon which, apprehending there was a design against his life, he retired to Rochester.

In 1531, when the question of bestowing upon the King the title of 'Supreme Head of the Church' was agitated in the Convocation, Fisher opposed it in the strongest terms; and finding it likely to pass, moved, and carried, as an amendment, "In so far as is lawful by the law of Christ." From this moment, the agents of the exasperated Monarch were indefatigable in plotting his ruin. The Bishop too speedily supplied them with the opportunity they so anxiously sought; for he was one of the many deluded persons, who gave credit to the pretended trances and inspirations of the Maid of Kent. Among other things she prophesied, that if the King persisted in the di-

\* This severe punishment was, accordingly, inflicted upon Rouse in Smithfield; but the act was, afterward, repealed.

voice, and married another wife, he would not long survive it. Fisher, who warmly espoused the cause of Queen Katharine, consented to an intercourse with this miserable fanatic: upon which his friend Secretary Cromwell advised him to desist from his encouragement of the imposture, and to write to this Sovereign acknowledging his fault, and imploring his forgiveness; instead of which, he openly avowed his belief of the piety and integrity of the Kentish prophetess. Cromwell, in a second letter, renewed his remonstrances against his conduct; and assured him, that in the event of his being tried, he would certainly be found guilty of misprision of treason. This prophecy was fatally fulfilled; for on his subsequent trial he was convicted, with five others, of having concealed the speeches which Elizabeth Barton had uttered relative to his Majesty; and condemned, in consequence, to forfeit his goods and chattels to the King, and to be imprisoned during pleasure: he was released, however, upon paying a fine of 300*l*.\*

During the same session of parliament, in which the dupes of this wretched woman were attainted, the act was passed annulling Henry's union with Katharine, and confirming his marriage with Anne Boleyn; and an oath was taken, by both Houses, of allegiance to "the heirs of the King's body by his most dear and entirely beloved lawful wife Queen

\* Bishop Burnet says, he does not find that the King proceeded against him at all upon this act. The Maid of Kent, with the monks her accomplices, was executed at Tyburn; where she confessed her impostures, and her carnal intimacy with the monks, who (she said) had imposed upon her simplicity.

Anna begotten and to begotten," &c. To elude this oath, the Bishop withdrew to his house at Rochester, where within four days he received an order from the Archbishop of Canterbury to attend him and the other commissioners, who were authorised to administer the oath at Lambeth. He obeyed the summons; but after considering the terms of the oath five days, he absolutely refused to take it, and was therefore committed to the Tower April 26, 1534.

The general concern expressed upon this occasion by persons of the first rank in the kingdom induced the principal members of the council (the Chancellor Audley, Secretary Cromwell, and some of the bishops) to visit him in his confinement, and to use their utmost endeavours to reconcile him to the oath, but in vain. The utmost which they could obtain from him was, that he would swear allegiance to the King and to the succession, without affirming the illegality of the marriage with Queen Katharine. In this resolution Fisher, and his illustrious fellow-prisoner Sir Thomas More, remained equally inflexible; at the same time animating each other by frequent letters to persevere in obeying what they adjudged to be the law of God, in preference to the King's pleasure. Cranmer alone was inclined to accept his concessions, without troubling him on the remaining points; and observed, in a letter to Cromwell upon the subject, "If they once swear to the succession, it will quiet the kingdom; for, they acknowledging it, all other persons will acquiesce and submit to their judgements." But the Monarch, determined as usual to show no mercy to those that opposed his will, as soon as the parliament met in November 1534, procured his attainder; and his bishopric was

declared void from the second of January, 1535. During his confinement, by Henry's express orders he was scarcely allowed the necessaries of life. The tyrant probably expected that ill-usage, combining with old age, would have spared him the ignominy of putting his venerable tutor to death. But the vigour of his constitution surmounting all hardships, the royal barbarian was obliged to have recourse to the meanest of stratagems to accomplish his destruction. This he had vowed, from the instant he received the news that Pope Paul III., in consideration of his eminent piety, his learning, his liberality to the university of Cambridge, and his faithful attachment to the church of Rome, had created him Cardinal Priest of St. Vitalis: an event, at which Henry was so much exasperated, that he strictly prohibited the admission of the hat into his dominions; sending Cromwell at the same time to the Tower, to sound the Bishop upon the subject, and to discover whether or not he had solicited this new honour. Fisher, who was totally ignorant of what had passed, upon being asked 'what he would say, if the Pope should send him a Cardinal's hat?' immediately with artless modesty replied, "Sir, I know myself to be so far unworthy of any such dignity, that I think of nothing less; but if any such thing should happen, assure yourself I should improve that favour to the best advantage that I could, in assisting the holy catholic church of Christ, and in that respect I would receive it upon my knees." When this answer was reported to Henry, he exclaimed with great vehemence, "Yea, is he so lusty? Well, let the Pope send him a hat when he will, mother of God! he shall wear it on his shoulders then, for I will leave him never a head

to set it on." The snare was now laid to destroy the unfortunate prelate; and the Solicitor-General Rich was despatched to the Tower, to draw him into discourse upon the subject of the supremacy. He accordingly informed Fisher that his Majesty, for the better satisfaction of his own conscience, had sent him privately to learn his opinion concerning it; assuring him at the same time, in the name of his royal master, that he should incur neither peril nor trouble by expressing his free sentiments. Upon his declaring however, under this assurance, that 'the title was unlawful, and that Henry could not assume it without endangering his soul,' he was brought to trial; when it was deposed against him by his infamous visitant, with the grossest breach of his pledged faith, that 'he had denied the King to be the supreme head on earth of the church of England:' a crime, affirmed to be high-treason. In vain the Bishop related the confidential manner, in which Rich had conversed with him; in vain he represented it to be his duty to give his advice, when commanded in the name of his Sovereign; in vain he observed, that the phrase '*maliciously* denying,' contained in the statute, could by no implication be construed to affect himself. All his arguments were lost upon a court and a jury, acting under the influence of a merciless despot. Sentence of death was passed upon him, in the usual form; but, by warrant from the King, it was changed to decapitation.

After his condemnation, his behaviour was consistent with the great character, which he had uniformly throughout life maintained. Pious, resolute, and cheerful, he neither repined at the manifest injustice of his sentence, nor courted applause by

exulting at the approach of his crown of martyrdom. On the twenty-second of June the Lieutenant of the Tower having informed him, at five o'clock in the morning, that he was to suffer that day; he thanked him for his intelligence, and after sleeping soundly for two hours, dressed himself with unusual neatness, observing to his servant that it was 'his marriage-day.' From his extreme weakness, the Warders of the Tower were obliged to carry him in a chair to the scaffold on Tower-Hill, where he was beheaded, and the next day his head was fixed upon London-Bridge.

Thus perished, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, this excellent prelate, by a sentence which has left a foul blot on the judicial proceedings of his country. With respect to his person, he is represented as a tall, comely, robust man, though he became much emaciated in the decline of life. In his manner of living, he was regular and temperate; to the afflicted extremely compassionate, and most liberal in his charities to the poor. It would be doing injustice to his memory to omit the testimony of Erasmus (from whom he learned Greek, when an old man) that 'he was a man of the highest integrity, of profound learning, incredible sweetness of temper, and uncommon greatness of soul.'\* He may be regarded as one of the first and most active restorers of ancient learning in England. His inhuman severity, however, against the Reformers is an indelible stain upon his character.

\* ' *Vir non solum mirabili integritate vitæ, verum etiam altâ et reconditâ doctrinâ, tum morum quoque incredibili comitate commendatus maximis pariter ac minimis.*'



He was the author of several theological and controversial tracts in Latin and English, of little repute indeed at present; but his opinion of the King's marriage, in a letter \* to T. Wolsey, merits the notice of the curious.

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As a specimen of his stile and manner, I subjoin a short passage from his 'Sermon preached at the funeral of Margaret Countess of Richmond,' which was republished by Mr. Thomas Baker in 1708. This discourse, on Luke x. 40. *But Martha——came to him, and said, &c.* contains not only a detailed character of the subject in a copious parallel between her and Martha, but also a striking display of the superstition of the times:

'First I say, the comparison of them two may be made in four things: in nobleness of person; in discipline of their bodies; in ordering of their souls to God; in hospitalities keeping, and charitable dealing to their neighbours. In which four, the noble woman Martha (as say the doctors, entreating this gospel and her life) was singularly to be commended and praised; wherefore let us consider likewise, whether in this noble Countess may any thing like be found.

'First, the blessed Martha was a woman of noble blood, to whom by inheritance belonged the castle of Bethany; and this nobleness of blood they have, which descended of noble lineage. Beside this, there is a nobleness of manners, without which the nobleness of blood is much defaced: for as Boëcius saith, 'If aught be good in the nobleness of blood, it

\* Printed in the Collection of Records at the end of the second volume of Collier's 'Ecclesiastical History.'

is for that thereby the noble men and women should be ashamed to go out of kind, from the virtuous manners of their ancestry before.' Yet also there is another nobleness, which ariseth in every person by the goodness of nature, whereby full often such as come of right poor and unnoble father and mother, have great abilities of nature to noble deeds. Above all the same, there is a fourth manner of nobleness, which may be called an increased nobleness, as by marriage and affinity of more noble persons, such as were of less condition may increase in higher degree of nobleness.

' In every of these I suppose this Countess was noble. First, she came of noble blood, lineally descending of King Edward III. within the fourth degree of the same. Her father was John, Duke of Somerset; her mother was called Margaret, right noble, as well in manners as in blood, to whom she was a very daughter in all noble manners: for she was bounteous and liberal to every person of her knowledge or acquaintance. Avarice and covetousness she most hated, and sorrowed it full much in all persons, but specially in any that belonged unto her. She was also of singular easiness to be spoken unto, and full courteous answer she would make to all that came unto her. Of marvellous gentleness she was unto all folks, but specially unto her own, whom she trusted and loved right tenderly. Unkind she would be unto no creature, nor forgetful of any kindness or service done to her before; which is no little part of very nobleness. She was not vengeable nor cruel, but ready anon to forget and to forgive injuries done unto her, at the least desire or motion made unto her for the same. Merciful also and piteous she was unto such as were grieved and wrongfully troubled,

and to them that were in poverty or sickness, or any other misery.

‘ To God and to the church full obedient and tractable, searching his honour and pleasure full busily. A wariness of herself she had alway, to eschew every thing that might dishonour any noble woman, or distain her honour in any condition. Frivolous things, that were little to be regarded, she would let pass by; but the other that were of weight and substance, wherein she might profit, she would not let, for any pain or labour, to take upon hand. These and many other such noble conditions, left unto her by her ancestors, she kept and increased therein with a great diligence.

‘ The third nobleness also she wanted not, which I said was the nobleness of nature. She had in a manner all that was praisable in a woman either in soul or body. First, she was of singular wisdom, far passing the common rate of women. She was good in remembrance, and of holding memory; a ready wit she had also to conceive all things, albeit they were right dark. Right studious she was in books, which she had in great number, both in English and in French; and for her exercise, and for the profit of others, she did translate divers matters of devotion out of the French into English. Full often she complained, that in her youth she had not given her to the understanding of Latin, wherein she had a little perceiving, specially of the *Rubryshe* of the *Ordinal* for the saying of her service, which she did well understand. Hereunto in favour, in words, in gesture, in every demeanor of herself, so great nobleness did appear, that what she spake or did, it marvellously became her.

‘ The fourth nobleness, which we named a nobleness gotten or increased, she had also. For albeit she of her lineage were right noble, yet nevertheless by marriage adjoining of other blood, it took some increasement.

\* \* \* \* \*

‘ So what by lineage, what by affinity, she had thirty kings and queens within the four degrees of marriage unto her; beside earls, marquisses, dukes, and princes. And thus much we have spoken of her nobleness.

\* \* \* \* \*

‘ Her sober temperance in meats and drinks was known to all them that were conversant with her, wherein she lay in as great weight of herself as any person might, keeping always her strait measure, and offending as little as any creature might: eschewing banquets, rere-suppers, juicieries betwixt meals. As for fasting, for age and feebleness albeit she were not bound, yet those days that by the church were appointed, she kept them diligently and seriously, and in especial the holy Lent throughout, that she restrained her appetite to one meal of fish on the day; beside her other peculiar fasts of devotion, as St. Antony, St. Mary Magdalene, St. Katharine, with others; and, throughout all the year, the Friday and Saturday she full truly observed. As to hard clothes’ wearing, she had her shirts and girdles of hair, which when she was in health, every week she failed not certain days to wear, sometime the other, that full often her skin (as I heard her say) was pierced therewith. As for chastity, though she alway continued not in her virginity, yet in her husband’s days, long time before he died, she obtained of

him license, and promised to live chaste, in the hands of the reverend father my lord of London; which promise she renewed, after her husband's death, into my hands again, whereby may appear the discipline of her body.

\* \* \* \* \*

In prayer, every day at her uprising, which commonly was not long after five of the clock, she began certain devotions; and after them, with one of her gentlewomen, the matins of our Lady, which kept her to \*—then she came into her closet, where then with her chaplain she said also matins of the day; and after that, daily heard four or five masses upon her knees: so continuing in her prayers and devotions unto the hour of dinner, which of the eating day was ten of the clock, and upon the fasting day eleven. After dinner, full truly she would go her stations to three altars daily; daily her dirges and commendations she would say, and her even-songs before supper, both of the day and of our Lady, beside many others prayers and psalters of David throughout the year; and at night, before she went to bed, she failed not to resort unto her chapel, and there a large quarter of an hour to occupy her devotions. No marvel, though all this long time her kneeling was to her painful, and so painful that many times it caused in her back pain and disease. And yet nevertheless, daily when she was in health, she failed not to say the crown of our Lady, which after the manner of Rome containeth sixty and three *aves*, and at every *ave* to make a kneeling. As for meditation, she had divers books in French, where-

\* There is an omission here.

with she would occupy herself when she was weary of prayer. Whereof divers she did translate\* out of the French into English. Her marvellous weeping they can bear witness of, which here before have heard her confession, which be divers and many, and at many seasons in the year, lightly every third day. Can also record the same those that were present at any time when she was *houshilde*,† which was full nigh a dozen times every year, what floods of tears there issued forth of her eyes! &c. &c.

\* Among which was the 'Mirror of Gold.'

† I. e., received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

# THOMAS CROMWELL,

EARL OF ESSEX.\*

[1498—1540.]

**T**HE Persians have a fable written by one of their most celebrated poets, in which the pine-tree and the cotton-shrub are introduced disputing with each other the pre-eminence. Thus the tree claims out of regard to its height and upright position, pronouncing the shrub contemptible on account of its diminutiveness. But the shrub prevails in the contest, in consideration of its valuable produce; thus conveying the moral, 'That men are not to be estimated by their birth or appearance, but by the excellence of their qualities.' In the former of these lights, the memorable subject of the ensuing memoir will be accounted one of the meanest; but in the latter, where actions alone are considered, he must ever be ranked with the most exalted English worthies.

Thomas Cromwell, the son of a blacksmith, who subsequently became a brewer, was born at Putney in the county of Surrey, about the year 1498. There

**AUTHORITIES.** *Biographia Britannica*, Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, and Salmon's *Chronological Historian*.

he received the whole of his education, being taught reading and writing at the parish-school, and so much Latin as barely enabled him to understand his Creed and his Pater-noster.

As he grew up however, finding in himself a strong propensity to travelling, he visited foreign countries; and, if we may credit Mr. Lloyd, the author of the 'British Worthies,' was retained as a Clerk or Secretary to the English factory at Antwerp. But that office proving too great a confinement, he was ardently wishing for an opportunity to get rid of it; when in 1510 another offered itself, which exactly suited the bent of his inclinations.

There had been for many years a celebrated guild of our Lady in the church of St. Botolph at Boston in Lincolnshire, to which several Popes had granted very considerable indulgences; favours so highly valued in those days of ignorance and superstition, that the sisters and brethren were extremely anxious to have them renewed by Julius II., who then sat in St. Peter's chair. For this purpose they despatched two messengers to Rome with a large sum of money, to be distributed as interest might prescribe. These, taking Antwerp in their route, became there acquainted with Mr. Cromwell; and, perceiving that he was much better qualified than themselves to accomplish the object in view, prevailed upon him to accompany them into Italy. On their arrival at Rome, Cromwell (as Fox, in his 'Acts and Monuments,' informs us) immediately set about inquiring into the character of the reigning Pontiff; and finding that he was a notorious epicure, caused some very delicious jellies to be made after the English fashion, which he presented to his Holiness. By



this mark of attention Julius was so much delighted, that he instantly granted to the English envoys the indulgences, which they required.

The account of Cromwell's subsequent conduct in Italy is extremely imperfect. It has been stated, that during his stay in that country he served under the celebrated Duke of Bourbon, and was present at the sacking of Rome;\* and that having assisted Russel (subsequently Earl of Bedford) in making his escape from Bologna, when he was in danger of being betrayed into the hands of the French, while transacting a secret commission for Henry VIII., he acquired a friend who proved of great service to him on his return to England. Upon his journey to and from Rome, he is said to have given a wonderful proof of his application and memory, by learning a new translation of the Testament, recently published under the direction of Erasmus. An instance of his gratitude likewise, though it happened some years afterward, may be recorded in this place; as it throws great light upon his circumstances, while he wandered up and down on the Continent.

During his stay in Italy, he was reduced to the utmost poverty, being destitute even of the common necessities of life. In this deplorable condition, he arrived at Florence. Here one Frescobaldi, an eminent merchant, observing that he was a foreigner, and finding him an ingenious and deserving man, not only equipped him with clothes, but made him a

\* As that event however took place in 1527, this statement appears to be incompatible with what is subsequently recorded of his having assisted Wolsey, in 1525, in the suppression of some small monasteries, with a view to the completing and endowing of his two Colleges at Oxford and Ipswich.

present of a horse and sixteen ducats in gold to defray his expenses into his own country. Being afterward reduced to poverty himself, Frescobaldi came over to England, in order to recover the sum of fifteen hundred ducats, which were due to him from several persons. In this, Cromwell, then become a nobleman, rendered him effectual assistance; and, in consideration of his seasonable gift of sixteen ducats, bestowed upon him sixteen hundred in addition.

During these travels, little as they appear to have immediately bettered his condition, Cromwell laid the foundation of his subsequent fortune. For being a man of indefatigable diligence, and having a natural inclination for state-affairs, beside informing himself of the several laws, customs, and governments of the nations which he visited, he acquired so perfect a knowledge of the German, French, and Italian languages, that he could both speak and write them with the utmost correctness. These valuable accomplishments recommended him, upon his return, to the notice of Cardinal Wolsey, who in 1522 made him his solicitor, and frequently employed him in affairs of the greatest delicacy and importance. Cromwell was, indeed, his principal instrument in founding his two colleges at Oxford and Ipswich; as he was also in 1525 in suppressing the smaller monasteries, which Henry VIII. had allotted for the completing and endowing of those seminaries.

But nothing does so much honour to the memory of the servant, as his devoted attachment to his master, after he fell into disgrace. Never, for a moment, did he fail in the slightest circumstance of affection and respect. He procured a seat in parliament purposely

to defend his cause against his enemies; and he did it with such strength of reason and eloquence, that the articles of treason preferred against him were dismissed. By these means, indeed, Cromwell unconsciously derived great advantages to himself: \* for Henry, ever on the watch for men of ability, and struck with the talent as well as the gratitude of one who so boldly endeavoured to sustain his sinking benefactor, upon the dissolution of the Cardinal's household received Cromwell into his own service.

In his religious sentiments, Cromwell was known to be a favourer of the Reformation; † and having already been accessory to the demolition of some religious houses, his enemies (the clergy, in particular) loudly exclaimed against his promotion. Instead of endeavouring to win them over, however, he widened the breach, by imparting to the King an important secret respecting them, which he had discovered while he was at Rome. 'The English ecclesiastics,' he informed his Majesty, 'though sworn to him, were subsequently dispensed from their oath, and sworn anew to the Bishop of Rome; so that he was but half

\* "He executed all things thereof," says Cavendish, in his 'Life of Wolsey,' "so exactly and wittily, that he was held in great estimation for his behaviour therein, and also for the true and faithful demeanor toward his lord and master."—"The fame of his honesty and wisdom came to the King; and he perceived no less by his wise demeanors in those receipts and governments, that he had of those lands, as I showed you before: and the confidence, that he had therein with the King, caused the King to repute him to be a very wise man, and a meet instrument to serve his Grace, as after it came to pass." (Wordsworth's *Ecclesiastical Biography*, I. 466, 467.)

† His residence, indeed, in the Low Countries had given him an opportunity of learning, and a consequent prepossession in favour of, the new doctrines.

their king, and they but half his subjects :’ a circumstance, as Cromwell justly observed, ‘ alike discreditable to his crown, and prejudicial to the common laws of his kingdom.’ He farther added, that ‘ his Majesty might accumulate to himself great riches, nay, as much as all the clergy in England were worth, if he pleased to take the occasion which now offered.’ To this proposal the King readily listened ; and demanding a proof of his assertions, was shown by Cromwell the oath, which the prelates took to the head of the church at their consecration ; wherein they swore to ‘ help, retain, and defend against all men the pope-dom of Rome, the rules of the holy fathers, the regalities of St. Peter,’ &c. &c. In the transport of his joy, Henry embraced the bearer of this welcome information ; and that no time might be lost, the convocation being then sitting, sent him with his signet to acquaint the clergy, that they had fallen into a *præmunire*. Thus deputed, Cromwell placed himself among the bishops, and after enlarging upon the extent of the royal authority, and the obedience due to it and to the laws of the kingdom, asserted that ‘ the clergy had violated both, by acknowledging the legatine power of Wolsey in England, and by their oaths to the Pope ; by which, as contrary to the allegiance sworn to their Sovereign, they had forfeited to the crown all their goods, chattels, lands, possessions, and livings.’ The bishops, terrified and astonished at these charges, in vain attempted to excuse themselves, and to deny the attestations. Their accuser, to their utter confusion, produced before them the very copy of the oath in question : upon which the two provinces of Canterbury and York were obliged to make his Majesty a present of 118,840*l*.

This transaction took place in 1531 ; and Crom-

well soon afterward had the honour of knighthood conferred upon him, was made Master of the Jewel-Office with a salary of fifty pounds *per ann.*, and sworn of the privy-council.

He now strenuously exerted his influence in parliament, and with the King, to forward the Reformation. The parliament favouring his designs, in 1532 an act was passed against levying the *Annates*, or 'First-Fruits,' a tax imposed by the Romish court for confirming the institution to benefices and the consecration of bishops. And, in the following year, another act was passed against all appeals to Rome in causes cognisable in the English ecclesiastical courts. As a recompence for these signal services, Cromwell was made Clerk of the Hanaper, and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

In 1534, he was farther appointed Principal Secretary of State; with which office he held that of Master of the Rolls, and at the same time he was elected Chancellor of Cambridge. A general visitation of the University followed this last promotion, when the several colleges surrendered their charters and other instruments into his hands.

To complete his good fortune, Anne Boleyn, an avowed friend to the Reformation, having been solemnly crowned Queen of England, the Pontiff excommunicated Henry for not adhering to his decision in favour of the previous marriage. Cromwell waited only for such a measure, to justify those which he meditated for the total suppression of the papal despotism in England. Accordingly, this year the parliament enacted, that 'payments to the Apostolic Chamber of every description should be abolished; and that all monasteries should be subject to the visi-

tation and government of the King alone: the law for punishing heretics was altered in their favour; and it was declared to be no heresy to speak, or write, against the Pope's authority.' In these regulations the convocation, likewise, concurred.

The year following, Cromwell was appointed Visitor-General of all the monasteries and other conventual communities throughout England; and in this capacity, as the office was of too extensive a nature to be executed by him in person, he nominated deputies, who have been charged by the Romanists with great excesses in the exercise of their commissions. But little credit is due to the legends of writers, who would not fail to blacken the characters of such as exposed the scenes of impurity and oppression practised in their religious houses.

The King, from the informations daily laid before him concerning the scandalous lives of the monks and friars, now judged it necessary to show that Cromwell enjoyed his entire confidence.\* He therefore gave him the custody of the Privy-Seal, July 2, 1536; on the ninth of the same month created him a peer, by the title of Baron Cromwell of Okeham in Rutlandshire; and nine days afterward advanced him to a dignity previously unknown in the kingdom, that of Vicar-General and Vicegerent over all the spirituality under his Majesty, as 'Supreme Head of the Church.' This appointment gave him precedence next to the royal family, subjected all ecclesiastical causes to his jurisdiction, and entitled him to a seat in the

\* When he first came to court, Sir Thomas More advised him, to 'tell the King, what he *ought* to do, and not what he was *able* to do.' But such ministers, usually, are not long favourites. Cromwell does not appear to have rigidly followed this advice.

convocation, as the King's representative, above the archbishops.

Only a short time, however, before Cromwell's elevation to this important function, an event had taken place which might have proved fatal to the Reformation, if Henry's hope of plunder (to accrue from the suppression of the monasteries) had not overcome his inward attachment to the Romish faith. Having indulged a passion for Jane Seymour, who would not listen to him upon any other terms than those of ascending the throne, he encouraged an accusation of incontinence against his lately beloved Anne Boleyn, founded solely on some personal levities in her conduct; upon which charge she was rigidly tried, unjustly condemned, and tyrannically put to death May 19, 1536. And, that no doubt might remain of his real motive, he married his new favourite the next day. This revolution revived the hopes of the Popish party, and obliged Lord Cromwell to proceed with great caution in the exercise of the powers of his high office. Yet he ventured, this year, to publish some articles of religion, which differed in many essential points from those of the self-named 'Catholic' Church. The seven sacraments of that communion were reduced to three, Baptism, Penance, and the Eucharist. The Bible, with the Apostolic, Nicene, and Athanasian Creeds, was made the standard of the public religion, and the doctrine of Purgatory was declared to be doubtful. The clergy, likewise, were enjoined to preach up the King's supremacy, and to prevent offerings of incense and kneeling to images, lest the people should be led away by idolatry and superstition.

His next care was, to encourage the translation of the Bible into English; and of this, when accom-

plished, he ordered a copy, provided in every parish at the expense of the minister and the parishioners, to be placed in the churches for the inspection of persons of every rank, as well laymen as clergy. Parents and guardians of youth were, also, ordered to teach them "the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, in the vulgar tongue." \*

As these measures directly struck at the root of the Romish religion and menaced it's speedy extirpation, a formidable party, headed by the Popish clergy, excited insurrections in different parts of the kingdom; and the rebels of Yorkshire had even the insolence to demand, that Lord Cromwell should be brought to condign punishment, as one of the subverters of the good laws of the realm. But these disturbances were so far from alienating the royal affection, that in 1537 he was constituted Chief Justice in Eyre of all the forests north of the Trent; and, on the twenty-sixth of August in the same year, installed Knight of the Garter, and Dean of the cathedral church of Wells. In the year following, he obtained a grant of the castle and lordship of Okeham in the county of Rutland, and was made Constable of Carisbrook Castle in the Isle of Wight; and in 1539 was farther rewarded, for his instrumentality in pulling down the monasteries, with many noble manors and estates, which had formerly been the property of those dissolved houses, and advanced to the dignities of Earl of Essex and Lord High Chamberlain of England.

These honours drew down upon him an additional weight of envy and ill-will: for, beside the general

\* He, likewise, issued some important injunctions upon the residence of the clergy, the keeping of registers, &c.



dislike of the old aristocracy, of the ancient family of Bouchier (the last Earl of Essex, who had broken his neck by a fall from an unruly horse) there still remained several branches, who might justly think themselves entitled to the extinct earldom. The chamberlainship, also, had been for many generations hereditary in the family of the De Veres, Earls of Oxford; and it's members could not but be highly incensed against him, for thus intercepting what their nobler ancestors had so long enjoyed.\* On the same day likewise that he was created Earl of Essex, his son Gregory was made Baron Cromwell of Okeham, and put in commission with others to sell the abbey-lands at twenty years' purchase; a measure, which Cromwell advised the King to adopt, as the surest way to stop the clamors of the people, and to induce their acquiescence in the dissolution of the monasteries.

Hitherto his prosperity had continued uninterrupted; but such is the uncertainty of human events, that his ruin was occasioned by the very precaution, which he took to secure his power! In 1537, died Queen Jane Seymour, two days after the birth of a son, named Edward; and Henry having subsequently overcome his real grief for the loss of this favourite wife, in 1539 began to turn his thoughts to a German alliance; hoping, as the Lutheran princes were extremely disgusted with the Emperor's persecution of their religion, by matching himself into one of their families, to renew an amity which might in future

\* He had, farther, made himself odious to the friends of law and justice, by his arbitrary proceedings in procuring bills from parliament for the condemnation of persons unheard, on a charge of treason; by which, among others, the Countess of Salisbury and the Marchioness of Exeter, both of the blood-royal, were sentenced to death.

promote his political views. This inclination Cromwell joyfully seconded; and as he perceived that some of his bitterest enemies, particularly Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, began to be more in favour at court than himself, he exerted his utmost endeavours to bring about a marriage between the King and Anne of Cleves: naturally imagining, that a Queen of his own making would powerfully support his interest at court. Alas! when Henry saw his intended bride, he pronounced her 'a great Flanders mare,' and declared that he could never bear her any affection. He married her indeed, and for some time continued to her his attentions, seeming even to repose his usual confidence in Cromwell; but, though he exerted this command over his temper, his latent dissatisfaction was ready to break forth the very first opportunity: nor was it long before an occasion offered, which enabled him at once to gratify his resentment, and to ingratiate himself with his subjects.\*

The Catholics, who detested Cromwell for his activity in the dissolution of the religious houses, encouraged by the Duke of Norfolk and the Bishop of Winchester, had raised so violent a clamor against him, that Henry, who was now courting their favour with a view of marrying the Duke's niece, Katharine Howard, if by any means he could procure a divorce from the Princess of Cleves, readily resolved to sacrifice his minister to their revenge. This divorce Norfolk and Gardiner undertook to accomplish, if Cromwell were previously removed.

\* The nation in general was highly incensed against Cromwell, for his having recently obtained a subsidy of four shillings in the pound from the clergy, and a tenth and a fifteenth from the laity, notwithstanding the immense sums which had flowed into the treasury upon the dissolution of the monasteries.

Accordingly, on the tenth of June 1540, the former obtained a commission to arrest him at the council-board. From the palace he was carried to the Tower, without knowing either his accusers, or the crimes with which he was charged; though from his first commitment, he entertained no doubt of a design having been laid against his life, as the Duke of Norfolk had always been his professed enemy.

On the seventeenth of the same month, a bill of attainder against him was brought into the House of Lords. He was accused of heresy and treason; of having set at liberty persons convicted of misprision of treason, without the Sovereign's assent; of having received bribes; and of having granted licences to carry corn, money, horses, and other things out of the kingdom, contrary to the royal proclamation. But what fully displayed the spirit of the party, was the charge of his having dispersed many erroneous books, hostile to the belief of the sacraments, among the King's subjects. Several other imputations, equally frivolous, were alleged against him: but though he had established his innocence by letters addressed to Henry during his confinement, when brought to his trial, he was not suffered to speak in his own defence, and the bill of attainder passed both Houses.

“It is plain to perceive,” says Burnet, “that most of the articles of his impeachment related to orders and directions he had given, for which it is very probable he had the King's warrant. And for the matter of heresy, the King had proceeded so far toward a reformation, that what he did that way was in all probability done by the King's orders: but the King now falling from these things, it was thought they intended to stifle him by such an attainder, that

he might not discover the secret orders or directions he had given him for his own justification. For the particulars of bribery and extortion, with which he was also charged, they being mentioned in general expressions seem only cast into the heap to defame him. But for treasonable words, which were alleged against him, it was generally thought that they were a contrivance of his enemies; since it seemed a thing very extravagant, for a favourite in the height of his greatness to talk so rudely, that if he had been guilty of it, Bedlam was a fitter place for his restraint than the Tower. Nor was it judged likely that, he having such great and watchful enemies at court, any such discourses should have lain so long secret; or, if they had come to the King's knowledge, he was not a prince of such a temper as to have forgiven, much less employed and advanced a man after such discourses. And to think that, during fifteen months after the words were said to have been spoken, none would have had the zeal for the King, or the malice to Cromwell to repeat them, were things that could not be believed."

The Earl of Essex had, in his fall, the common fate\* of disgraced ministers: he was forsaken by his friends, and insulted by his enemies. Archbishop Cranmer alone did not abandon him in his distress, but wrote to the King very warmly in his behalf: "Who cannot but be sorrowful and amazed, that he should be a traitor against your Majesty; he, that was so advanced by your Majesty; he, whose surety was only by your Majesty; he, who loved your Majesty (as I ever thought) no less than God; he,

\* A fate however, from which his own fidelity had ten years before exempted Wolsey.

who studied always to set forward whatsoever was your Majesty's will and pleasure; he that cared for no man's displeasure to serve your Majesty; he that was such a servant (in my judgement) in wisdom, diligence, faithfulness, and experience, as no prince in this realm ever had; he that was so vigilant to preserve your Majesty from all treasons, that few could be so secretly conceived, but he detected the same in the beginning? If the noble princes of happy memory, King John, Henry II., and Richard II., had had such a councillor about them, I suppose they should never have been so traitorously abandoned and overthrown, as those good princes were." He himself, likewise, concluded a very humble letter to his royal master in those affecting terms; "Written with the quaking hand, and most sorrowful heart, of your most sorrowful subject." The King had it thrice read to him, but without changing his purpose.

The Duke of Norfolk, and the rest of the Popish party, baffling every application in his favour, in pursuance of his attainder he was sentenced to be beheaded on Tower-Hill, July 28, 1540. Upon the scaffold, in tenderness to his son, he suppressed all complaints against his enemies; and instead of vindicating himself, by a happy turn of thought acknowledged 'that he had offended God by his sins, and had thus merited death.' Having then prayed for the King and the Prince, and assured the people that he died in the catholic faith,\* after a short time

\* That under this expression he intended to characterise the Reformed Doctrine is confirmed (against the assertions of Popish authors) by his praying in English, and to God through Christ, without any invocation of the Virgin Mary or of the Saints.

passed in private devotion he gave the signal to the executioner, who being either unskilful or timid cruelly mangled his unfortunate victim.

Thus fell Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex: a statesman of eminent abilities, joined with uncommon application to business, who had the public welfare deeply at heart, and invariably pursued it with the utmost vigour and perseverance; though he sometimes extended the royal prerogative, at the expense of civil liberty. In his person he was comely, in his deportment manly and graceful, and in his general character exempt from pride and arrogance. Courteous and affable to all persons,\* to the poor and the distressed he was remarkably charitable, no less than two hundred persons being fed twice every day at his door. To his dependents, and domestics, he was a kind and liberal master; and for his gratitude to those, who had befriended him in his humbler fortunes, he was an example singularly worthy of imitation.

Though it is perfectly in the moral order of things, that the instrument of a tyrant should die by tyranny, yet it is impossible not to feel a detestation of the merciless despot, who could thus sacrifice to his caprice or his convenience one, whose greatest fault was having served him too well.

His son, soon after his death, was created Lord Cromwell; and the title continued in his family for several generations.

\* Stowe the historian, however, mentions an instance of his abuse of power, in taking away a piece of ground from his father without recompence, in order to enlarge the garden of his great house in Throgmorton-street.

# THOMAS HOWARD

DUKE OF NORFOLK.\*

[1473—1554.]

**T**HIS nobleman having gained a brief ascendancy in the state upon the fall of the Earl of Essex, and the elevation of his niece Katharine Howard to the throne, is here introduced, for the purpose of preserving a regular series of historical facts from the accession to the death of Henry VIII.

The progenitor of this illustrious family was John Howard, created Duke of Norfolk by Richard III. in 1483, who fell at Bosworth. His son Thomas, who had been created at the same time Earl of Surrey, forfeited his title on the accession of Henry VII.; though in the fourth year of that Prince's reign he was permitted to resume it, and to take his seat in the House of Peers. In 1499 he was made Lord-Treasurer, about which time his two sons, Thomas and Edward,† began to be known at court: and in

\* **AUTHORITIES.** *Biographia Britannica*, Rapin's *History of England*, and Salmon's *Chronological Historian*.

† This gallant officer in 1492 discovered a strong inclination for the sea-service, having embarked as a volunteer on board the fleet sent under the command of Sir Edward Poynings to assist the Duke of Burgundy against his rebellious subjects.

the first year of Henry VIII. he was farther appointed Earl Marshal. He attended the King, likewise, at

For his signal bravery during the expedition, he received the honour of knighthood, and was appointed by Henry VIII. upon his accession to be his Standard-bearer, a very distinguished office in those days.

In 1511, through the interest of his father, who was then of the privy-council, he was commissioned by the King with two ships to clear the narrow seas of Scottish pirates, the most notorious of whom was Sir Andrew Barton, acting (as it was suspected) under the impulse of James IV. of Scotland. Upon this occasion his eldest brother, then Sir Thomas Howard, served under him, and had the honour of engaging the ship commanded by Barton, who was killed in the engagement, while Sir Edward took her companion, and both were triumphantly brought into the Thames.

The year following, Sir Edward was made Lord High-Admiral of England, and performed eminent services against the French, with whom Henry was then at war; particularly in 1513, when with forty-two ships of the line he compelled the enemy's fleet to take shelter in the harbour of Brest. Upon receiving information of this event, the King of France ordered Pregent, one of his ablest naval officers, to sail from Toulon with a squadron of galleys, effect a junction with the Brest fleet, and offer battle to the enemy. The English Admiral, in consequence, formed a plan for burning the French ships in the harbour before Pregent's arrival: and wishing to give the King the honour of commanding in person at the execution of so splendid an enterprise, wrote home to that effect. But his letter being laid before the council, it was pronounced imprudent, to advise the Sovereign to venture his royal person in such a dangerous attempt; and an answer was returned to Sir Edward couched in terms of angry reproof, ordering him to do his duty, and not to seek excuses. Deeply mortified by this unexpected and undeserved rebuke, and in obedience to his constant maxim, that 'a seaman never did good, who was not resolute to a degree of madness,' he with fifteen hundred men attempted to force the harbour in boats; but the French to the number of ten thousand lining the shore, he abandoned his project, to engage in another of equal bravery and equal temerity.



the sieges of Terouenne and Tournay; and, upon his return to England in 1513, defeated the Scots in the celebrated battle of Flodden-Field, James IV. their sovereign having fallen in the action.\* In consideration of these services, the Dukedom of Norfolk was conferred upon him in 1514, and his eldest son was in the same year created Earl of Surrey.

A peace however being at this time concluded with France, the new Earl had no opportunity of exercising his military talents till 1519, when the affairs of Ireland requiring the presence of an able general to quell the insurrections and feuds of the chiefs, he was appointed Lord Deputy of that kingdom. This office he executed with so much vigour and address, that without proceeding to any excessive severities, he suppressed the rebellion of the Earl of Desmond, humbled the O'Neals and the O'Carrolls, and completely restored the public tranquillity.

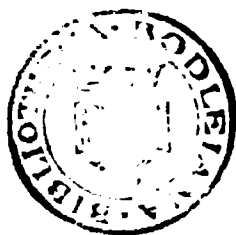
Having received intelligence, that Pregent had arrived with six galleys and four tenders in Conquete Bay, and was watching an opportunity to get into Brest, he manned his only two galleys with some of his bravest men, and with two row-barges and two tenders entered the bay. A brisk gale soon bringing them along-side of the enemy, Sir Edward resolutely boarded one of the hostile galleys, accompanied only by eighteen Englishmen and one Spaniard: when the grappling-tackle unfortunately either slipping, or being cut away, his vessel was turned adrift, and he and his few heroic followers, disdaining to submit, were pushed overboard and perished. He was succeeded in his office by his eldest brother Sir Thomas, who revenged his death upon the French, by clearing the seas so effectually of their ships, that not a vessel durst make it's appearance. He, also, ravaged the coasts of Bretagne; and for this and other services was, as above stated, created Earl of Surrey in 1514.

\* His eldest son Thomas, the subject of the present Memoir, and Edmund his third, served under him in this battle.

In 1522, he was recalled to take the command of the combined fleets of Henry VIII. and the Emperor Charles V. against France. On his first expedition to the enemy's coast, he landed some troops at Cherbourg, and ravaged all the adjacent country. Shortly afterward, he invaded Bretagne; and having taken and pillaged the town of Morlaix, and burnt seventeen sail of French ships, returned to Southampton with a considerable booty. There he found Charles V., after a short visit to Henry, waiting to embark for Spain. Consigning the fleets therefore to the care of his Vice-Admiral Sir William Fitz-Williams, subsequently Earl of Southampton, with cruising orders, he himself in his own ship convoyed the Emperor to the port of St. Andero in Biscay.

In the year following, upon his father's resignation, he was made Lord High Treasurer; and was also nominated General of the army then preparing to invade Scotland. In this capacity he made such devastation in the shires of Tweeddale and March, that before the end of the year the Duke of Albany, then Regent of that kingdom for James V., was glad to beg a truce of the English Monarch. About the same time, likewise, the Duke of Norfolk died, upon which his son was made Earl Marshal in his stead.

In 1524, he attended the King to France, and was sent Ambassador extraordinary to Francis I., upon the occasion of that Monarch's intended interview with the Pope. For many subsequent years, his life was principally distinguished by the steady resistance, which he opposed to Cromwell's administration: but when the suppression of the monasteries had in 1537 caused an open rebellion in the North, under the name of 'the Pilgrimage of Grace,' he



was again called forth to assist the Earl of Shrewsbury, who had the chief command in suppressing it; and thenceforward, in his quality of a courtier, he appears to have set every engine at work to ruin Cromwell. This object, through the female influence of his niece Queen Katharine Howard, and the co-operation of Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, he finally accomplished; after which, to the great joy of the Popish party, he excited the King to revive the persecution of heretics, and to enforce the observance of the 'Six Bloody Articles' of religion. A plot likewise was concerted to take off Archbishop Cranmer, the only champion of the Reformation still countenanced at court, of which a more ample account will be given in the Life of that illustrious prelate.

The last military service performed by the Duke of Norfolk, whom Henry denominated 'the Scourge of the Scots,' was his commanding an army against that nation in the latter end of the year 1542; when he again displayed fresh proofs of his talents and bravery.

But the discovery of the Queen's incontinence, which was followed by her conviction and execution in the beginning of this year, had given his enemies an opportunity, during his absence in Scotland, of filling the royal mind (now grown, through ill-health, peculiarly susceptible) with alarming suspicions. It was suggested, that Norfolk was a popular man; and that he, and his son Henry Earl of Surrey, had formed a design to seize the person of the King, to engross the administration of the government, and probably upon the strength of the statute declaring the issue of Anne Boleyn illegitimate to set aside the succession. Considering the

influence of those two noblemen with the adherents of the Popish religion, who formed the majority throughout the kingdom, a prince less subject to jealousy than Henry would naturally have kept a watchful eye over them, especially as the Duke had the chief command of the army.

Accordingly, upon his return from Scotland, Norfolk found a visible alteration in his Sovereign's conduct. He was no longer summoned to attend the cabinet-council; and having privately complained to his mistress of this neglect, she had the baseness to adduce these murmurs with some other trifling speeches made to her in confidence, amounting collectively to nothing more than the innocent repinings of a slighted courtier in evidence against him. Unfortunately for the Earl of Surrey, he had frequently expressed his detestation of this woman, and she now scrupled no forgeries to accomplish his ruin. A quarrel likewise subsisted between the Duke and his Duchess, on account of his open infidelity to the marriage-bed, which she had the cruelty to revenge by joining his avowed enemies. In consequence of their informations, the Duke and his son were arrested for high-treason, and committed to the Tower. Here the former, according to Henry's usual custom, was treated with extreme rigour, being obliged to petition the council to be allowed the use of some books; and at length, in the course of his confinement, to solicit even a change of sheets: so little regard did that unfeeling Monarch show to the high rank and signal merit of an old and faithful servant!

With the hope of obtaining a pardon, or at least farther indulgences in his confinement, Norfolk meanly made his submission to the King, and signed a con-

fession which hastened the fate of his son, acknowledging it as his greatest crime, that he had concealed the manner in which Surrey bore his coat of arms.\* The Earl's half-sister the Duchess of Rich-

\* Surrey, it appears, quartered the arms of England with those of Norfolk, as a descendent of Edward IV.; his mother, the Duke's first wife, having been the daughter of that monarch.

This accomplished nobleman was not less valiant than learned. A lover of the Muses, and a reformer of English poetry, in the tenderness and elegance of his verses he excelled all the writers of his time. The fair Geraldine, the fame of whose beauty was raised by his pen and his lance, has been proved by Mr. Walpole (from a coincidence of many circumstances) to have been Elizabeth, second daughter of Gerald Fitzgerald Earl of Kildare, by Margaret daughter of Thomas Grey Marquis of Dorset, and to have been the third wife of Edward Clinton Earl of Lincoln. His 'Songs and Sonnettes,' though comparatively little known at present, were in high reputation among his contemporaries. They have been praised (says Anderson) by Leland, Sydney, Turberville, Puttenham, Churchyard, and Drayton; and more recently by Dryden, and Waller, and Fenton, and Pope. They are chiefly amatory and sentimental, but in nature and sensibility they equal the best love-verses in our language; and in harmony of language, perspicuity of expression, and facility of phraseology, approach very nearly to the productions of the present age.

Not merely the poet of idleness and gallantry, however, he was fitted both by nature and study for the more solid and laborious parts of literature. His versions of the Ecclesiastes, and a few of the Psalms, prove him to have been a friend to the Reformation. He translated, also, the second and fourth books of the *Æneid* into blank verse; and these are the first compositions extant, in that measure, in the English language. But if he deserves our admiration and gratitude, for his having first contributed to polish and refine that language, still more is he entitled to them for his ready and liberal patronage of distressed men of merit.

He was at once, indeed, the hero of romance, and the practical

mond, and his step-mother the Duchess of Norfolk, used their joint endeavours to cut off this unfortunate

soldier. His superiority in the accomplishments of chivalry was proved at a tournament held by him at Florence, in honour of his Geraldine, and at another exhibited at Windsor in the King's presence in 1540. His condemnation appears to have been occasioned by his talents, his popularity, his high spirit, a suspicion of his intending to marry the Princess Mary with a view of obtaining the crown, but above all, by a hatred treasured in the King's breast against the relations of Katharine Howard. (For a more particular account of this illustrious man, see Walpole's 'Royal and Noble Authors,' and Warton's 'History of Poetry.')"

"In the Sonnets of Surrey," observes Warton, "we are surprised to find nothing of that metaphysical cast, which marks the Italian poets, his supposed masters, especially Petrarch. Surrey's sentiments are, for the most part, natural and unaffected; arising from his own feelings, and dictated by the present circumstances. His poetry is alike unembarrassed by learned allusions, and elaborate conceits. If he copies Petrarch, it is Petrarch's best manner, where he descends from his Platonic abstractions, his refinements of passion, his exaggerated compliments, and his play upon opposite sentiments, into a track of tenderness, simplicity, and nature. For his justness of thought indeed, correctness of stile, and purity of expression, he may properly be pronounced 'the first English classical poet.'"

With Surrey may be named his friend Sir Thomas Wyatt the elder, stiled by Wood "the delight of the Muses and of mankind." They were, indeed, "two chieftains (as Puttenham, in his 'Art of English Poesie,' denominates them) of a new company of wit-makers, who sprung up in the latter end of Henry VIII.'s reign. They having travelled into Italy, and there tasted the sweet and stately measures and stile of the Italian poesy, as novices newly crept out of the schools of Dante, Ariosto, and Petrarch, greatly polished our rude and homely manner of vulgar poesy, from that it had been before." Wyatt however has more imitations, and even translations, from the Italian poets than Surrey; and he seems to have been more fond of their conceits. He is, confessedly, inferior to him in smoothness, distinctness, and ease; in elegance of sentiment, and in nature and sensibility. He was

youth ; the former deposing, that her brother had a crown, instead of an Earl's coronet, engraven on his seals, and a cypher which bore the appearance of the royal signet. Upon these frivolous charges he was tried by an ignorant jury of commoners at Guildhall, found guilty of high-treason, and beheaded on Tower-Hill, January 19, 1547.

The Duke it was intended should share the same fate in a few days, the bill of attainder having passed the House of Lords ; but in the Lower Assembly it, fortunately, met with some delay. Henry, perceiving his own end approaching, and anxious to prevent Norfolk from disturbing the reign of his successor, commanded the Commons to hasten it's progress ; upon which it was passed, and the royal assent (on account of the King's weakness) being given by commission, the execution was fixed for the twenty-ninth of January. But Henry expiring on the morning of the twenty-eighth, the warrant became null and void ; and the council judging it imprudent to commence a new reign with the death of so popular a nobleman, his sentence was not carried into effect. He remained, however, in confinement (being excepted by the Regency from the general pardon) during the whole of the short reign of Edward VI. ; and soon after the accession of Queen Mary, by whom he was immediately replaced in his possessions and admitted to confidence, he died a natural death in 1554.

imprisoned by Henry VIII., on the charge of a connexion with Anne Boleyn ; but he succeeded in justifying himself, and was restored to favour.

## EDWARD SEYMOUR,

DUKE OF SOMERSET.\*

[\* \* \* \*—1552.]

**T**HIS powerful statesman was the son of Sir John, and the brother of Jane Seymour, third wife of Henry VIII. and mother of Edward VI. No mention of him however occurs in history, till after the death of the Queen his sister; when the King, in honour to her memory, and anxious that the Prince should always have so near a relation about his person, created him Earl of Hertford in 1537. He had previously, indeed, been made a Peer by the title of Viscount Beauchamp; but he enjoyed no important office at court, till his second creation. Even then, the interest of the Duke of Norfolk prevented him from possessing any considerable share of the royal confidence till after his own disgrace, when he was appointed Lord Chamberlain.

As Edward VI. at his accession was not quite

\* AUTHORITIES. Baker's *Chronicle*, Hayward's *Life of Edward VI.*, *Biographia Britannica*, and Burnet's *History of the Reformation*.



ten years old, his father had appointed sixteen executors, to whom during his non-age was entrusted the regal authority. But upon it's being suggested, that it must be extremely troublesome, especially for foreign ministers, to be under the necessity of applying to such a number of functionaries, it was proposed that some one should be appointed president of the body, with the title of 'Protector.' This motion was vigorously opposed by the Chancellor Wriothesley Earl of Southampton, who correctly anticipated that the new dignity, to the great diminution of his own power, would be conferred upon the Earl of Hertford. The Earl, however, had so strong a party in the council, that the question was carried in the affirmative; and it was resolved, on account of his relationship to the King, and his experience in state-affairs, that he should be declared Regent and Governor of the King's person. This was, accordingly, done; but with an express condition, that he should not undertake any thing without the concurrence of all his brother-executors.

The jealousy, which subsisted between the Protector and the Chancellor, now speedily burst into action; and the nation being at this time divided between the Romanists and the Reformers, Hertford (who was, shortly afterward, created Duke of Somerset) placed himself at the head of the latter party, and Wriothesley at that of the former. The Chancellor however quickly, by his imprudence, gave his adversary the advantage over him. Resolving to apply himself chiefly to state-affairs, he had put the great seal into commission, directed to the Master of the Rolls and three Masters in Chancery, and empowering them to execute his office in as ample a

manner as if he himself were present. This being done by his own authority, without any warrant from the Protector and the Co-regents, it was ordered that the judges should give their opinions concerning the case in writing. Their answer was, that the Chancellor, holding his office only as a trust, could not commit the exercise of it to others without the royal consent; that in so doing, he had by the common law forfeited it to the crown, and that he was farther liable to fine and imprisonment during the King's pleasure. When this opinion was delivered in council, Wriothesley told the Protector, that 'he held his office of Chancellor by an undoubted authority, since he held it from the King; whereas it was greatly to be questioned, whether he himself were lawfully Protector.' But his haughtiness only accelerated his disgrace: he was, immediately, confined to his house. It was then debated, what his punishment should be: and as it was judged inexpedient to divest him of his share in the Regency, in order to render it useless to him he was placed under an arrest, and the great seal was transferred to Lord St. John, till another Chancellor should be appointed. From this confinement, however, he was released, upon entering into a recognisance of four thousand pounds, to pay whatever fine the court should impose upon him.

After Somerset had thus got rid of his troublesome rival, he resolved to usurp the sole administration of the government. With this view he represented to the Regents and the council, that it had been controverted by several persons, whether or not they could by their sole authority create a Protector; and that the French ambassador, in particular, had suggested his

fears of treating with him, as his title might be contested upon the ground of defective authority in those by whom it had been conferred. To obviate this difficulty, a petition was presented to the King, requesting him by a commission under the great seal to authorise their proceedings. This measure, with some subsequent ones of a similar nature, drew down upon him the ill will of many among the nobility, who eventually made him feel the effects of their resentment. But their intrigues were suspended, for the present, by national concerns of a more important description.

Henry VIII. had earnestly recommended to his successor to realise, if possible, his project of uniting the two portions of the island, by claiming the hand of the young Queen Mary, daughter of James V., afterward so well known in history by her crimes and her misfortunes. The treaty for this marriage, which had been ratified by the Regent and the parliament of Scotland, had through the influence of Cardinal Beaton, who was in the interest of France, been suddenly renounced. In resentment of the perfidy, Henry, two years before his death, declared war against its authors. This the Protector now prepared to carry on with vigour, and having raised an army of 18,000 men, marched northward, accompanied by the Earl of Warwick (afterward Duke of Northumberland) as his Lieutenant-General. Upon his arrival in Scotland, he published a manifesto, urging the fulfilment of the contract, but unhappily without effect.

The Earl of Arran had collected the whole of the Scottish force, to oppose the invading army: but, though he brought nearly double the number of

troops into the field, he lost to the English the celebrated battle of Pinkey or Musselburgh, on the tenth of September, 1547. After this, the Protector marched to Edinburgh, which he took and burned; and having made himself master of Leith, with several other places of inferior note, he left the Earl of Warwick fully empowered to treat with the Regent's commissioners, who now sued for peace. This however was only an artifice, to gain time for the arrival of succours from France.

Somerset's political talents were by no means equal to his ambition, or to his high station; and his enemies had seized the opportunity of his absence in the North to form cabals against him. The intelligence, which he received of their intrigues, increased the errors of his conduct in that expedition; for, instead of pursuing his advantages by proceeding to Stirling, where he might have gained possession of the young Queen, and thus have terminated the war, he precipitately hastened back to England, leaving his army under the command of a nobleman indisposed to wish success to any enterprise, which might increase the power or the popularity of the Protector.

In his own family likewise his adversaries, unfortunately, found a proper tool to co-operate in effecting his ruin. Sir Thomas Seymour his youngest brother, a man of an envious and haughty disposition, mortified that he himself should only be a Privy-Councillor while his brother was one of the Regents, though at his nephew's coronation he had been created Lord Sudley, and in the same year constituted Lord High Admiral of England, found his discontent still unsubdued. He had discovered his aspiring temper in-

deed immediately after Henry's death, by paying his addresses to the Princess Elizabeth; but meeting with a repulse, he solicited the hand of the Queen Dowager Katharine Parr, and privately married her without communicating it to the Duke.\* Hence their quarrel first originated: but the Protector, though he continued to entertain secret suspicions of the Admiral, did his utmost to prevent their quarrel from breaking out.

The latter however, instigated by the secret enemies of Somerset, began to cabal against him, by gaining over the King's servants to his interest, strictly in-joining them to let him know whenever his Majesty had occasion for money, as he would at all times be ready to supply him. By such practices, he at length succeeded in supplanting his brother in the royal favour. To add to the Duke's misfortune, a violent quarrel happened at this time between his Duchess and the Admiral's lady; the latter expecting from her previous rank, and her peerage in her own right, not only the precedence, but also that the former should bear her train, which she absolutely refused, being (according to Sir John Hayward) "a woman for many imperfections intolerable, but for pride monstrous."

Those ambitious projects, the Protector assured

\* The lady's passion, as well as that of the Princess, was by credulous people in a credulous age imputed to incantation. In the preamble to an act passed 2 and 3 Edward VI. entitled, 'An Act for the attainder of Sir Thomas Seymour,' &c. it is said, that "he would have done what he could secretly to have married the Princess Elizabeth, as he did the late Queen, whom it may appear he married first, and after sued to his Majesty and the Lord Protector and their council for his preferment to it; whom, nevertheless (it hath been credibly declared) he helped to her end, to haste forward his other purpose."

Sudley, could only end in his ruin : but the latter, deaf to his representations, proceeded to adopt a measure, which obliged Somerset to treat him as a disturber of the public tranquillity. He represented to the young King that his predecessors, being minors, had usually had governors of their royal persons distinct from the protectors of the realm ; and the credulous prince, attached to him by his various indulgences, and unable from his tender age to estimate the nature and consequences of this agreeable proposal, imprudently addressed a message to the House of Commons, desiring them to confer this office upon the Admiral. Sudley had intrigued with many of the nobility to assist him in his project ; but on it's transpiring, the council sent a deputation to him, in his brother's name, urging him to proceed no farther. To these he arrogantly replied, that ' if he was thwarted in his attempt, he would make this the blackest parliament that ever sat in England : ' upon which he was summoned the next day by the council. He refused to attend. He was then informed, that ' the royal writing was nothing in law ; but that he, who had procured it, was liable to be punished for having so done : ' and it was resolved to divest him of all his offices, to commit him to the Tower, and to prosecute him for having attempted to disturb the government. Terrified by this menace (for he foresaw that a prince, who was but just entered into his eleventh year, would not have the resolution to support him) he made proper submission, and Somerset and he were to all appearance perfectly reconciled. But, though he seemed to have wholly laid aside his ambitious designs, he had only deferred the execution of them to a more favourable opportunity.

The success of the Scottish campaign, however imperfect, had gained the Protector fresh credit with the people; and this popularity, unfortunately, tempted him to neglect the nobility, whose aversion his conduct contributed daily to increase. For, availing himself of the powers granted him by the patent, he advised with such members only of the council as were devoted to his interest, treating the rest as mere cyphers. The best reason to be assigned for this injudicious procedure is, his great zeal for the Reformation; which made him think it necessary to remove from the administration every one deemed hostile to its progress. The catholic party, on the other hand, prevailed upon the Princess Mary and the discontented lords to espouse their cause. The Princess in particular wrote to the Protector, to inform him, that 'she regarded all innovations in religion, made by the ministry before the King attained his majority, as incompatible alike with the respect due to her father's memory, and with their duty to their young master; disturbing the peace of his kingdom, and pre-engaging his authority on points, upon which he was yet incapable of forming any satisfactory judgement.' Some days before the meeting of parliament in 1548, Lord Rich was appointed Chancellor; and on the very day before it assembled, the Protector by a patent under the great seal was authorised to take his seat on the right-hand of the throne under the cloth of state, whether the Sovereign was present or not, and invested with all the honours and privileges, which any of the uncles of former kings had ever enjoyed. This parliament, now wholly under his influence, was extremely fa-

vourable to the Reformation, especially in passing an act to abolish private masses, and to grant the cup to the people in the communion.

In the course of the same year, Lord Sudley's restless disposition again broke forth, upon an alteration which happened in his family. In the month of September, the Queen Dowager his wife died in child-bed, not without suspicion of poison; the Admiral having plotted to become the head of the Protestant party, by espousing the Princess Elizabeth. Of the deceased Queen the conduct in every respect, except that of having married too suddenly after the death of her former husband, had been perfectly blameless; but she was a bigoted Roman Catholic, and Sudley apprehended that this prejudiced the people against him. Soon after her death, therefore, he renewed his addresses to the Princess Elizabeth, but without success: the attempt, however, gave occasion to an act declaring the marriage of the King's sisters, without the consent of the council, to be treason. Finding himself baffled in this project, he formed a design of carrying away the King to his house at Holt, dispossessing the Protector, and taking the reins of government into his own hands. For this purpose, he provided magazines of arms, and enlisted two (or, as others say, ten) thousand men. He likewise entered into an association with several of the nobility, who envied Somerset's greatness, and were not displeased to see the difference between the two brothers rendered irreconcilable.

The Protector, as most historians agree, though apprised of all these proceedings, showed himself extremely patient, and refused to carry things to ex-



tremity, till he clearly perceived that one or the other must inevitably be ruined. But, as Rapin justly observes, we cannot entirely rely upon the chroniclers of that time; some making it their business to blacken the reputation of Somerset as much as possible, and others invariably panegyrising all his actions. It is indisputable, however, that the Admiral was dissatisfied with his condition; and his ambition leading him at last to criminal measures, he was on the nineteenth of January, 1549, committed to the Tower. The day following, the seal of his office was demanded, and placed in the hands of Secretary Smith; but his personal fate was, for the present, suspended.

In the mean time, the war with Scotland occasioned the Protector great uneasiness. He was sensible, that it was not more ridiculous than arduous to woo the young Queen with the din of arms. Besides, the continuance of it might very probably occasion a rupture with France; an event, which would necessarily retard the progress of the Reformation. As the Scottish Regent however would not accept the ten years' truce, which he proposed to him, he was compelled against his will to protract the quarrel; but not choosing to put himself at the head of the army, he gave the command of it to the Earl of Shrewsbury, whom he obliged by a violent stretch of power to hold his commission directly from himself. And, as the patent which he had obtained the preceding year did not distinctly confer upon him this prerogative, he ordered another to be prepared, in which his authority was more fully explained and enlarged.

In this war, which was now carried on with only indifferent success, the Protector made use of some

German troops; a circumstance, which excited considerable murmurings against him, even among his own party: as it was easy to perceive, that his object was by the aid of these foreigners to strengthen his own power.

Thus supported, he determined again to enforce his brother's complete submission. As a final attempt, however, to win him to his interest, he offered him a considerable estate, if he would withdraw from court and all public business. But the Admiral's hatred being insurmountable, on the twenty-second of February a full report was made to the council, with an accusation consisting of thirty-three articles.

It appears highly probable, that Lord Sudley was guilty of the crimes laid to his charge; since he answered only the three first articles, and that with obvious reluctance. The particulars indeed of the several allegations were so manifestly proved, not only by witnesses, but by letters under his own hand, that it did not seem possible to deny them. Yet, when he was first examined by some of the Privy Councillors, he refused to give any direct answers, or to sign his evasive ones: it was ordered therefore that on the next day the whole of the council, with the exception of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Sir John Baker, Speaker of the House of Commons, who was obliged to attend his duty in parliament, should proceed to the Tower, and examine him there. There however he told them, that he expected an open trial, and insisted upon having his accusers confronted with him, refusing upon any other condition to give his answers. Upon this it was resolved, that the whole board should demand of the King, 'whether it was

his pleasure that the law should take place, and whether he would leave the determination of the affair to the parliament, as it had been laid before them ;' so cautiously did they proceed in a case, which concerned his uncle's life. But the youthful Monarch, who had experienced his seditious temper, had lately been much alienated from his interests. When the Councillors waited upon his Majesty, after they had all in succession declared their opinions, that the matter should be consigned to the wisdom of parliament ; the Protector (who spoke last) protested, that ' this event had given him the greatest concern ; that he had done his utmost to prevent it from coming to such an extremity ; but were it his own son, he must still prefer to him the Sovereign's safety.' He added, that ' if he himself had been guilty of such offences, he should deserve death ; and the rather, because he was of all men the most bound to his Majesty, and therefore he could not refuse to suffer justice.' The King's answer was as follows : " We perceive, that there are great things objected and laid to my Lord High Admiral, my uncle, and they tend to treason ; and we perceive, that you require but justice to be done : we think it reasonable, therefore, that you proceed according to your request." Which words (as it is observed in the council-book) coming so suddenly from his Grace's mouth of his own motion, as the lords might perceive, they gave the King their most hearty thanks ; resolving at the same time, that some of both Houses should be sent to the Admiral, before the bill should be put in against him, to hear what he could adduce in his own behalf. The envoys employed upon the occasion were the Chancellor, the Earls of Shrewsbury, Warwick, and South-

ampton, Sir John Baker, Sir Thomas Cheyney, and Sir Antony Denny. These, after he had long continued obstinate, succeeded at last in persuading him to reply to the first three articles: after which he suddenly stopped, and bade them ‘be content, for he would go no farther;’ nor could any entreaties induce him, either to answer the rest, or to set his hand to the answers which he had already made.

On the twenty-fifth of February, a bill of attainder was brought into the House of Lords; and the Peers, too well accustomed to agree to such bills in the late King’s time, made no difficulty in passing it. All the judges, with the council, were unanimous in their opinions, that the articles amounted to treason. The evidence was then heard: after which the whole House with one voice consented to the bill; the Protector alone, “for natural pity’s sake,” having desired leave to withdraw. Two days afterward, the bill was sent down to the Commons, among whom it experienced considerable opposition. They exclaimed against the prevailing practice of attainders, and the irregular manner of judging the accused without having confronted them with the witnesses, or listened to their defence. Besides, it was justly thought a most unwarrantable method of proceeding that peers, rising up in their places, should relate somewhat to the criminating of a brother-peer, and that he should thereupon be attainted. They urged, therefore, that ‘the Admiral should be brought to the bar, and there allowed to plead for himself.’ Edward however having sent them a message, that ‘he did not think his uncle’s presence necessary, and that it was sufficient they should examine the depositions which had been pro-

duced in the House of Lords,' the Commons in a full house of four hundred passed the bill, not above ten or twelve voting in the negative. The royal assent was given on the fifth of March 1549, and on the tenth of the same month the council\* resolved to press the King, that justice might be executed upon the criminal. His Majesty, in reply, remarked; 'He had well observed their proceedings, and thanked them for their great care of his safety, and commanded them to proceed in it, without farther molesting him or the Protector:' ending, "I pray you, my Lords, do so." Upon this, the Bishop of Ely had orders to attend the Admiral, to administer spiritual advice, and to prepare him to meet his fate with patience and resignation: and, on the seventeenth of March, the council signed a warrant for his execution, in pursuance of which he was beheaded March 20, 1549.

The Protector upon this occasion incurred very severe censures, for having consented to his death. It was contended that, if the Admiral was guilty, it was only against his brother, whom he would have supplanted; and who, from at least an equal violation of the fraternal duty, had brought him to the scaffold. Rapin remarks, that they who then meditated the ruin of the Protector, feigning to be his friends, spurred him on to be revenged on his brother, and were very ready to serve as his instruments. † Ac-

\* It is stated in the council-book, that "since the case was so heavy and lamentable to the Protector, though it was also sorrowful to them all, they resolved to proceed in it, so that neither the King nor he himself should be farther troubled with it."

† "As many there were," says Fox, "which reported that the Duchess of Somerset had wrought his death; so many more

cordingly, this catastrophe aggravated the hostility of the nobles against him, and it was carried to the highest pitch by his conduct in countenancing the people upon the following just occasion.

After the suppression of the abbeys, vast numbers of monks were dispersed throughout the kingdom, who were constrained to work for their bread, their pensions being ill paid, or insufficient for their subsistence. Hence the supply of labourers was increased, and at the same time the demand was diminished : for so long as the monasteries stood, their lands had been let out at easy rents to farmers, who could therefore afford to employ a large number of people in their cultivation. But after they fell into the hands of the nobility and gentry, their rents being considerably raised, the occupiers were obliged at once to retain fewer labourers, and to lower the rate of wages. Besides, the new proprietors, finding that since the last peace with France the woollen trade flourished, so that sheep were a more profitable article of produce than corn, had caused their grounds to be enclosed. From this source arose several inconveniences. In the first place, the price of corn was enhanced, to the great detriment of the lower classes of the community ; and next, the landlords or their tenants had occasion only for few persons to look after their flocks. Thus many were deprived of the means of earning a livelihood, and the profit of the lands, which had previously been shared by numbers, was now almost

there were who, misdoubting the long standing of the Lord Protector in his state and dignity, thought and affirmed no less, but that the fall of the one brother would be the ruin of the other ; the experiment whereof, as it hath often been proved, so in these also eftsoons it ensued."

wholly engrossed by their owners. This naturally excited murmurs among the common people, who saw themselves on the point of being reduced to extreme misery; and several little books were published, setting forth the mischief which must result from such proceedings. The Protector openly espoused their cause; and appointed commissioners to examine, whether those who held the abbey-lands kept hospitality, and performed all the conditions upon which those lands had been transferred to them: but he met with so many obstacles in the execution of his order, that it produced no effect.

By such measures he continued to inflame the hatred of the higher orders, who found their account in countenancing these abuses: for, in the preceding session of parliament, the Lords had passed a bill, giving every one leave to enclose his grounds if he pleased: and, though it was thrown out by the Commons, the great proprietors ventured to act upon it. This occasioned universal discontent. The people, beginning to apprehend that a regular project had been formed to reduce them to a state of slavery, rose about the same time in Kent, Sussex, Hampshire, Wilts, Gloucestershire, Suffolk, Warwickshire, Essex, Herts, Leicestershire, Rutlandshire, and Worcestershire. The Protector, perceiving the flames kindling all over the kingdom, announced that 'he was ready to redress the public grievances:' and, agreeably to his promise, he laid the affair before the council, hoping that some expedient might be found to satisfy the general complaints. Encountering strong opposition, however, from the board, he thought it absolutely necessary to have recourse to his sole authority; and therefore, contrary to the opinion of

his brother-regents, he issued a proclamation against all new enclosures, granted a general pardon to the people for their late excesses, and even appointed commissioners with unlimited power to hear and determine causes about enclosures, highways, and cottages. The nobility and gentry now openly asserting, that it was an invasion of their property to subject them to these arbitrary functionaries, and by their pertinacious resistance to some extent obstructing the Protector in his humane efforts, the people rose again in several places, particularly in Oxfordshire, Devonshire, Norfolk, and Yorkshire. The Oxfordshire insurgents were immediately dispersed by Lord Grey: but the insurrection in Devonshire was far more dangerous. That county abounding with people, who had only complied outwardly with the alterations made in religion, the priests and monks successfully fomented their discontents, and in a short time the rebels were ten thousand strong. They were quelled however at last, without much difficulty, by a small force under Lord Russel; and Somerset proclaimed an amnesty of all that had been done before the twenty-first of August, with the exception of only a few prisoners. The council themselves were now highly mortified to perceive, that they were consulted only as mere matter of form, and that their opinions had no weight in the ultimate determination of affairs. But by this prudent exertion of an illegal prerogative, it is certain that the Protector put an end to a rebellion, which had almost threatened the nation with a civil war.\*

\* The still more formidable insurrection in Norfolk was quelled by the address of the Earl of Warwick.



The Scottish war, as it had been anticipated, had been productive of another with Henry II. of France, who ascended the throne of that kingdom upon the death of Francis I. in 1547. A rupture with the Emperor Charles V. was likewise to be apprehended, on account of the assistance given by the English ministry to his discontented subjects, the German Protestants. This situation of foreign affairs embarrassed the limited capacity of Somerset. Dreading therefore the machinations of a powerful domestic faction, with whom the Romish party were secretly allied, he resolved to listen to the overtures of France, which offered peace and its assistance to the Protestants of Germany, as the price for the restitution of Boulogne.

While this treaty was privately negotiating, the Earl of Warwick, and the Earl of Southampton (the disgraced Chancellor) who had recovered his seat in the privy-council, associating themselves with eighteen of the other lords, agreed to withdraw from court, and openly to oppose the Protector.

Among the numerous causes of general jealousy and hatred of the Duke, none had a more powerful effect upon the public at large, than the superb palace\* which he was building in the Strand; and, as this impolitic undertaking greatly lessened his popularity, we shall borrow from Sir John Hayward's 'Life of Edward VI.' his curious relation of it.

"Many well-disposed minds conceived a hard opinion of him, for that a church by Strand-Bridge and two bishops' houses were pulled down, to make a seat for his new building; in digging the founda-

\* Somerset-House.

tions, whereof, the bones of many who had been buried there were cast up, and carried into the fields: and because the stones of those houses, and of the church, did nothing suffice for his work, the steeple and most part of the church of St. John of Jerusalem near Smithfield (most beautifully erected and adorned not long before by Docray, prior of that church) was mined and overthrown with powder, and the stones applied to this spacious building. And because the work could not be therewith finished, the cloister of Paul's on the north-side of the church in a place called Pardon church-yard, and the Dance of Death very curiously wrought about the cloister, and a chapel that stood in the midst of the church-yard; also the charnel-house that stood on the south-side with the chapel, tombs, and monuments therein were beaten down, the bones of the dead carried into Finsbury-Fields, and the stones converted to his building." \*

It was also alleged by the Lords, that 'several bishops and prebends had resigned to him numerous manors in order to obtain his favour;' though this was not done without leave previously obtained from the King. † And 'many of the chantry-lands,' it was

\* See pp. 204, 205. Ed. 1636.

† In a grant of some lands made to him by the King, in the second year of his reign, it was observed that "these lands were bestowed upon him as a reward of his services in Scotland, for which he had been offered greater remunerations: but, that refusing to accept of such grants as might too much impoverish the crown, he had taken a licence from the Bishop of Bath and Wells, for alienating to him some of the lands of that bishopric." He is, in that patent, called "By the grace of God, Duke of Somerset;" which expression, 'by the grace of God,' had not been used for some years past, except in speaking of sovereign princes.

added, 'had been sold to his friends at easy rates; for which they concluded he had received large presents.' All these things concurred to raise him opponents, and he had only few supporters; none adhering firmly to him except Paget,\* Secretary Smith, and Archbishop Cranmer, who was never known to forsake his friend. The favourers of the old superstition were, universally, his enemies; and even Goodrich, Bishop of Ely, though he was well-inclined to the Reformation, joined in the cabal against him. This prelate, who had attended Lord Sudley in his preparation for death, had received from him very disadvantageous impressions of the Protector. These were all sensible, and indeed he himself was not ignorant, that the continuance of the war would inevitably ruin him, and that peace alone could confirm him in his power.

This consideration made him resolve to propose to the council the restitution of Boulogne to France: but though he sustained his motion with many plausible reasons, it was received by them with signs of indignation, and pronounced 'downright cowardice.' As it was too nice an affair for him to determine by his own exclusive authority, it was debated in form; and the result of the discussion was, a negative upon his proposal.

This mortifying repulse was followed by an open declaration of the associated lords, who usually met at Ely-House, that 'considering themselves as the legitimate council, they were determined to take

\* And some of the Windsor secrets, we learn from Fox, were disclosed to the associated lords "by the means (as some suppose) of the Lord Paget, who was then with the King and the Protector; but the truth the Lord knoweth."

vigorous measures for the safety of the Sovereign and of his realm, both of which were endangered by the unlimited power of the Duke of Somerset;’ and accordingly on the sixth of October, 1549, Lord St. John, as president, and the Earls of Southampton, Warwick, and Arundel; Sir Edward North, Sir Richard Southwell, Sir Edmund Peckham, Sir Edward Wotton, and Dr. Wotton, sat as the King’s council.

The Protector, in alarm, sent his secretary Petre to learn the cause of their assembling; but instead of returning, he remained with the associated lords, and embraced their party. Two days afterward they proceeded into the city, and declared to the citizens, that their objects were, ‘to secure the personal safety of the King, to redress the grievances of the nation, and to restore it’s weight and influence at foreign courts, by removing from the royal person and councils the Duke of Somerset, whose mal-administration had been the cause of all it’s misfortunes for some time past.’ Upon this declaration, the city expressed an entire approbation of all their measures; and the Duke, panic-struck, resolved to submit to his fate, without giving the new council any farther trouble.

A warrant however, under the King’s hand, was despatched to London, requiring any two of the associated lords to repair to Windsor with twenty servants each, who had the royal faith for their safety in coming and returning: at the same time Cranmer, Paget, and Smith, solicited them by letter to end the matter peaceably, and not suffer themselves to be misled by those who meant otherwise than they professed, of which they knew more than they would then mention. This seemed levelled at the Earl of South-

ampton. On the ninth of October, 1549, Somerset's enemies were increased by the accession of Lord Russel, Lord Wentworth, Sir Antony Brown, Sir Antony Wingfield, and Sir John Baker, Speaker of the House of Commons: and he himself addressed a letter to the Earl of Warwick, couched in such humiliating terms, that his adversaries instantly published a proclamation sanctioned by seventeen respectable signatures, ascribing "all the national disgraces abroad, and the intestine divisions at home, to the evil government of the Duke, and protesting that his administration threatened worse dangers. They desired, and in the King's name charged, all his subjects not to obey any precepts, licenses, or proclamations, whereunto the Protector's hand should be set, albeit he should abuse the King's hand and seal unto them; but to quit themselves upon such proclamation as should proceed from the body of the council." \*

Of all the Privy-Councillors, the Archbishop of Canterbury and Paget alone remained at Windsor; and these, perceiving the impossibility of withstanding the opposite party, advised the King and Somerset to give the council the satisfaction they required. Accordingly, on the twelfth of October, the leaders of the opposite faction waiting on the Sovereign, he received them graciously, and assured them that he took all they had done in good part, and meeting them the next day in council, the Duke was formally deprived of the protectorship and all other public offices, and was ordered into confinement in Beauchamp-Tower within Windsor Castle. They next appointed seven of the lords of

\* Hayward, p. 229.

the council, and four knights, to attend the royal person by rotation; and having brought his Majesty to Hampton-Court, Somerset was soon afterward conveyed to the Tower.

A rumour having been propagated about this time, that the confederate lords had designs upon the King's life, and meant to change the form of government to an aristocracy, it was judged expedient that Edward should make his public appearance before his people. Upon which, he rode from Hampton-Court to his palace in Southwark (then called Suffolk-Place) where he dined; and in the afternoon proceeded in great state, attended by the principal of his new governors, through the city to Westminster. This so highly delighted the populace, that they rent the air with acclamations, and seemed to have entirely forgotten their old favourite, the late Protector.

On the second of January, 1550, a bill of attainder was carried into the House of Lords against the Duke, with a confession signed by his own hand. But as some of the Peers, suspecting that this confession had been extorted, urged that it was an ill precedent to pass acts upon such papers, without inquiring of the party whether he had subscribed them free and uncompelled; the House deputed four temporal Lords, and four Bishops, to examine him concerning it. The next day, the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry reported, that 'he thanked them for their kind message; and acknowledged that he had freely subscribed the confession which lay before them.' He protested, that 'his offences had flowed from rashness and indiscretion rather than malice, and that he had no treasonable design against the King or his realms.' Upon this, after being fined by act of parliament

two thousand pounds a-year in land, with the forfeiture of all his goods, and the loss of all his places, on the sixth of February he was set at liberty; giving a bond of ten thousand pounds for his good behaviour, with a restriction that he should remain at the King's house at Sheen, or his own of Lion, not approaching either his Majesty or council unless sent for. On the sixteenth of the same month he received his pardon, and subsequently behaved with so much humility, that he was soon afterward restored to the royal favour, and sworn again of the privy-council. He had forfeited, however, in a great measure the esteem of the people, who, not discerning the reasons of his conduct, could not help thinking him guilty of all, since he had confessed all: but the King, who had a quick judgement, saw through the designs of his enemies. Yet could he not, even with his sovereign authority, screen him from their determined vengeance.

The Popish party, who had formed high expectations from the disgrace of the Duke, quickly found that his successor in power, the Earl of Warwick, indifferent in himself to all religions, began to incline to the Reformation, because he saw the King was zealous in promoting it's interests. This gave Somerset and his friends a fair prospect of undermining him. The contest, however, was most unequal: Warwick possessing all the qualities of a deep politician, and Somerset being of an unguarded and communicative disposition, it is no wonder that he was speedily betrayed by his perfidious confidents into the hands of his antagonist.

By one of these, his ruin was accomplished. For Warwick (now Duke of Northumberland) having

gradually alienated the young King's affection from his uncle, and gained an ascendancy over him by his skilful management of public affairs, began to treat his adversary with contempt, that he might thus excite him to some act of desperation, which might justify putting him to death. Somerset, upon this, broke out into threatening expressions, and, it is even said, conceived a project of assassinating the new minister. The chief informer against him upon this occasion was Sir Thomas Palmer, who accused him first privately to the King, and afterward to the council, of having formed a design to raise an insurrection in the North, attack the King's guard on a muster-day, secure the Tower, and excite a rebellion in London. To this was added, a plot to murder the Duke of Northumberland, the Marquis of Northampton, and the Earl of Pembroke. The last charge was supported by the evidence of one Crane and his wife, confidential dependents on the Duchess of Somerset; Crane in particular deposing, that the plot was to be carried into execution at a banquet to be given by Lord Paget to the devoted lords. Upon these suspicions of treason and felony the King too readily consented, that his uncle should be brought to a trial; and soon afterward a circumstance, which ought to have been construed in his favour, was made use of to confirm the charges against him.

The Duke, yielding too much to the fear of sudden attempts upon his life, had been persuaded to wear a coat of mail next his shirt. Thus dressed, he attended the council-board; when his dress accidentally opening discovered the armour, upon which he was immediately ordered to the Tower, as intending the



death of some councillor; and attachments were issued against all his pretended associates. The next day the Duchess of Somerset, Lord Grey of Wilton, Crane and his wife, and the chief waiting-woman belonging to the Duchess, were committed to the Tower; at which the people greatly rejoiced, believing if any real mischief had been intended, that the Duchess must have been it's chief contriver. Sir Thomas Holdcroft, Sir Miles Partridge, Sir Michael Stanhope, John and David Seymour, Wingfield, Bannister, and Vaughan, were likewise confined in different prisons: but Sir Thomas Palmer, Sir Ralph Arundel, Hammond, Newdigate, and Sir Ralph Vane (who turned evidence) were treated with the utmost tenderness, and detained in apartments at court, in order to be produced as the principal accusers.

Upon the farther examination of Crane, the Earl of Arundel, Lord Paget, and two of Arundel's servants, were also taken into custody: and with the view of prejudicing the public against Somerset, the Chancellor made an elaborate speech in the Star-Chamber, giving his opinion in public previously to the trial, against every rule of equity, that the articles of accusation against him were true. The foreign ministers, likewise, were instructed to write to their respective courts, that he was guilty, as confidently as if he had already been convicted.

Upon these extravagant charges historians have, generally, founded their accounts of this event. Dr. Burnet is perhaps the only one, upon whom we can depend with regard to the evidence against him. According to him, it appeared that he had made a party to get himself declared Protector in the next parliament: this the Earl of Rutland positively de-

posed, and the Duke's answer appeared to confirm. As to the means however, by which he intended to accomplish the purpose in question, it is highly probable he had yet fixed upon none, except that of securing the Duke of Northumberland's person.

On the first of December, he was brought to his trial. The crimes, with which he was charged, as it appears from the King's journal, were cast into five several indictments (whether indictments, or articles, it is not perfectly clear). That he had designed to have seized on the King's person, and in his name to have governed the realm; to have attacked the guards on a muster-day; in conjunction with a hundred others, to have killed the Duke of Northumberland; and to have raised an insurrection both in the North, and in the city of London.

In his favour it was contended, that the three peers, Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, against the first of whom it was pretended that he had conspired, ought not to sit as his judges: for, though by the law no peer can be challenged in a trial, it was ever held, that no man can be judge in his own cause. This objection, however, was over-ruled; and what is very extraordinary, the Chancellor, though at that time a peer, was left out of the number.\*

Somerset, though little acquainted with the laws of the land, did not desire counsel to plead or assist him in point of law, but only answered himself to matters of fact. He began his defence, by requesting that 'no advantage might be taken against him for any idle

\* It seems probable, that the reconciliation between him and Somerset was suspected, and that therefore he was excluded.

word, or passionate expression, that might at any time have escaped his lips.' He protested, that ' he never intended to have raised the northern parts ; but had only upon some reports sent to Sir William Herbert, to entreat him to be his friend : that he had never formed a resolution to kill the Duke of Northumberland, or any other person, but had only talked of it without any intention of doing it : that, with respect to attacking the guards, it was ridiculous to suppose that he, with a small troop, could destroy so strong a body of men ; in which too, though he should have succeeded, it could have signified nothing : that far from intending to raise any disturbances in London, he had always regarded it as a place, in which he was in perfect security : and that his having men about him in Greenwich was with no ill design, since he did no mischief with them, even when it was in his power ; but upon his attachment had surrendered, without making any resistance.' He likewise objected many things against the witnesses, and desired they might be brought face to face. But this, his earnest request was denied. In answer to his statements, the King's counsel pleaded against him, that ' to levy war was certainly treason : that to assemble men with an intention to kill Privy-Councillors, was also treason : that to have men about him to resist the attachment, was felony ; and to assault the lords, or contrive their deaths, was also felony.'

When the Peers withdrew to deliberate, after a considerable difference of opinion, they unanimously acquitted him of treason ; but the majority found him guilty of felony ; proceeding upon a statute made in the reign of Henry VII., which declared it felony for inferior persons to intend to take away the life of a privy-

councillor. In this, however, lords were expressly excepted; and therefore, as Hayward observes, Somerset, being both a peer and a Privy-Councillor, was completely without the reach of the statute.

During the whole time of his trial he behaved with the utmost temper and patience: \* after sentence was pronounced, he thanked the lords for their attention, and craved pardon of Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, for his ill intentions against them; and made suit for his life in pity to his wife, his children, and his servants, and in regard of the payment of his debts. He was then remanded to the Tower, and because he was acquitted of treason, the axe was not openly carried before him; upon which the people, supposing that he was altogether acquitted, shouted half a dozen times so loud, that they were heard beyond Charing-Cross. †

It is highly probable that Somerset, having previously experienced the royal clemency, relied on a second pardon: but his popularity served only to increase the fears of the court, and great pains had been taken to prepossess the King against him. At the same time the courtiers artfully “entertained his Majesty with stately masks, tilts, barriers, and much other variety of mirth,” to divert his thoughts from his condemned uncle; and the Duke’s relations and friends were prevented from approaching his presence. At length,

\* “Like a lamb, following the true Lamb and example of all meekness, he was contented to take all things at their (the Sergeants’ and Justices’) hands, and with no less patience to hear now their ungentle and cruel railings, than he did before their *glavering* words and flatterings in time of his high estate and prosperity.” (Fox.)

† Hayward, p. 330.

Edward consented to his death; and an order being sent for that purpose on the twenty-second of January, 1552, he was brought to the place of execution on Tower-Hill. His whole deportment was composed, and no way changed from what it had ordinarily been. After kneeling down, and praying, he addressed the people in these words: "Dearly beloved friends, I am brought here to suffer death, albeit that I never offended against the King, either by word or deed; and have always been as faithful and true to this realm, as any man hath been. But, for so much as I am by law condemned to die, I do acknowledge myself, as well as others, to be subject thereto. Wherefore to testify my obedience, which I owe unto the laws, I am come hither to suffer death, whereunto I willingly offer myself, with most hearty thanks to God that hath given me this time of repentance, who might through sudden death have taken away my life, that neither I should have acknowledged him nor myself. Moreover, there is yet somewhat that I must put you in mind of, as touching Christian religion; which so long I was in authority, I always diligently set forth and furthered to my power. Neither repent I of my doings, but rejoice therein, since that now the state of Christian religion cometh most near unto the form and order of the primitive church, which thing I esteem as a great benefit given of God, both to you and me: most heartily exhorting you all, that this, which is purely set forth to you, you will with like thankfulness accept and embrace, and set out the same in your living; which thing, if you do not, without doubt greater mischief and calamity will follow."

When he had proceeded thus far, certain persons

of a neighbouring Hamlet, who had been warned by the Lieutenant to attend at seven o'clock, coming after their hour through the postern, and perceiving the prisoner mounted upon the scaffold, began to run and call their fellows to come away: the suddenness of their appearance, their haste, and the weapons they carried, but especially the words 'come away,' caused several of those who stood nearest to the scaffold, to surmise that a power was approaching to rescue the Duke; upon which many cried with a loud voice, "Away, away." It was some time, before this vain tumult could be appeased; and Sir Antony Brown soon afterward approaching on horseback, there was again a general shouting, "Pardon, pardon; God save the King:" many throwing up their caps; by which Somerset might well perceive, how dear he was to the people. These disorders being quieted, he made a sign to them with his hand to compose themselves, and proceeded as follows:

"Dearly beloved friends, there is no such matter here in hand, as you vainly hope or believe. It seemeth thus good unto Almighty God, whose ordinance it is meet and necessary that we all be obedient to. Wherefore I pray you all to be quiet, and to be contented with my death, which I am most willing to suffer: and let us now join in prayer unto the Lord for the preservation of the King's Majesty, unto whom hitherto I have always showed myself a most faithful and true subject. I have always been most diligent about his Majesty, in his affairs both at home and abroad: and no less diligent in seeking the common commodity of the whole realm;" (at which words, all the people cried out and said, 'It was most true.') Then the Duke, proceeding, said; "unto whose Ma-

jesty I wish continual health, with all felicity and all prosperous success." Whereunto the people again cried out, 'Amen.' "Moreover, I do wish unto all his councillors the grace and favour of God, whereby they may rule in all things uprightly with justice; unto whom I exhort you all in the Lord to show yourselves obedient, as it is your bounden duty, under the pain of condemnation, and also most profitable for the preservation and safeguard of the King's Majesty. Moreover, for as much as heretofore I have had oftentimes affairs with divers men, and hard it is to please every man; therefore, if there have been any, that hath been offended and injured by me, I most humbly require and ask him forgiveness: but especially Almighty God, whom throughout all my life I have most grievously offended; and all other, whatsoever they be that have offended me, I do with my whole heart forgive them. Now, I once again require you, dearly beloved in the Lord, that you will keep yourselves quiet and still, lest through your tumult you might trouble me. For, albeit the spirit be willing and ready, the flesh is frail and wavering; and, through your quietness, I shall be much more quiet. Moreover, I desire you all to bear me witness, that I die here in the faith of Jesus Christ, desiring you to help me with your prayers, that I may persevere constant in the same to my life's end." \*

Upon this Dr. Cox, who was with him on the scaffold, put into his hand a prayer, which he had prepared for him. After having read it on his knees, he

\* Fox's 'Acts and Monuments.' This historian subjoins a parallel between "Duke Humphry, uncle to King Henry VI. and the Duke of Somerset, uncle to King Edward VI."

took leave of all about him, undressed himself to be fitted for the axe (in all which there appeared no change in him, only his face was a little ruddier than ordinary), and continued calling, "Lord Jesus, save me," till the executioner severed his head from his body.

The Duke of Somerset was a nobleman eminently pious; humble and affable in his prosperity; and sincere and candid in all his transactions. He was more distinguished however as a general, than as a statesman: yet had he been frequently successful in his undertakings; was always careful of the poor and the oppressed; and, in a word, had as many virtues and as few faults as most great men, who have been unexpectedly advanced to the highest pinnacle of power. The people were extremely affected at his execution; many dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood, to preserve it in remembrance of him; and it is certain, though they stifled their resentment at the time, that they never forgave his enemy and persecutor, the Duke of Northumberland.



## JOHN DUDLEY, DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND.\*

[1502—1553.]

**J**OHN DUDLEY, one of the most potent subjects England ever knew, was the son of the infamous Edmund Dudley, an able but corrupt lawyer, who was Speaker of the House of Commons in 1504, and a Privy-Councillor. At this period, the avarice of Henry VII. was insatiable; and Dudley, in conjunction with Sir Richard Empson, Chief Justice of the King's-Bench, instead of discountenancing the unkingly passion, devised various illegal methods of extorting money from the people, receiving poundage themselves upon the sums thus basely acquired. On the accession of Henry VIII. the people cried aloud to the King, whenever he appeared in public, for justice against these public robbers and their inferior agents; and the latter being apprehended, and set in the pillory, were stoned to death: nor would

\* **AUTHORITIES.** *Stow's Chronicle*, *Speed's History of England*, *Lloyd's State-Worthies*, *Hayward's Life of Edward VI.*, *Fox's Acts and Monuments*, &c., and *Burnet's History of the Reformation*.

the populace rest satisfied, till Empson and Dudley were indicted, convicted of high treason, and beheaded in 1510.\*

Young Dudley was born in 1502; and it being represented to the King in 1511, that he was descended from an ancient family, who (with the exception of his father) had done honourable service to the state, he was restored in blood: but no statute is to be found for reversing the attainder, as recorded by most historians, nor could he inherit his splendid patrimony, the personal property having been confiscated to his Majesty's use, and the real estates having been bestowed upon the royal favourites. About the year 1523, however, having received an education suitable to his rank, he was introduced at court by his mother, now married again with the King's consent to Henry Plantagenet, who in her right † had been created Viscount Lisle.

Dudley's advantageous personal figure and accomplishments soon recommended him to the notice of his Sovereign, who nominated him to attend his favourite, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, on his expedition to France. Here his gallant behaviour not only entitled him to the favour of his general, but procured for him likewise the honour of knighthood. For his advancement, upon his return, he appears to have relied chiefly upon his own abilities, and prudently attached himself to Wolsey, whom he accompanied to France in 1527. Soon afterward, he was

\* The detail of their extortions, and oppressions, the reader will find at large in Lord Bacon's 'History of Henry VII.'

† She was the daughter and heiress of John Grey, Viscount Lisle.

made Master of the Armory in the Tower. His hopes of preferment, however, did not hinder him from attending to his concerns in the country, where he assiduously improved his interest with the gentry, living in great hospitality, and rendering himself extremely popular among his neighbours.

During Wolsey's administration, Sir John Dudley continued sedulously to pay his court to him; but as soon as he found Cromwell was gaining the ascendant, he dexterously transferred his attention to the new favourite, by whom he was appointed Master of the Horse to the Princess Anne of Cleves, on her arrival in England. In 1539, he was the first of the challengers in the triumphant tournament \*

\* This tournament had been proclaimed in France, Flanders, Scotland, and Spain, for all strangers to try their prowess against the English knights, Sir John Dudley, Sir Thomas Seymour, Sir Thomas Poynings, Sir George Carew, and Antony Kingston and Richard Cromwell, esquires. These challengers came into the lists richly dressed, preceded by a band of knights and gentlemen, clothed in white velvet. The first day there were forty-six defendants, among whom were the earls of Surrey, Lord William Howard, Lord Clinton, and Lord Cromwell, son to the prime minister, then Earl of Essex. Sir John Dudley, by some mischance of his horse, had the misfortune to be overthrown by one Mr. Breme: he mounted again, however, and performed most gallantly. The challengers then rode in state to Durham-House, where they entertained the King, the new Queen, and the court. On the second day, Kingston and Cromwell were made knights. On the third, the challengers fought on horseback with swords, against twenty-nine defendants; Sir John Dudley and the Earl of Surrey running first with equal advantage. On the fourth, they fought on foot at the barriers against thirty defendants. In the course of these military diversions, the challengers at an immense expense entertained both Houses of Parliament, the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and their wives, and all the persons of distinction then in town;

held at Westminster, in which he appeared with great magnificence.

The fall of Essex did not in the least affect the fortune of Sir John Dudley : who, though he successively flattered the ministers, took care at the same time invariably to pay the highest deference to the will of the Sovereign, and thus amidst all the changes of men and measures constantly preserved his credit at court.

In 1542, upon the death of his mother's second husband, he was created Viscount Lisle ; and, at the next festival of St. George, he was also elected Knight of the Garter. But this was, soon afterward, followed by a much higher token of esteem and confidence ; for the King, in consideration of his prudence, courage, and activity, constituted him Lord High Admiral of England for life.

In 1543, he commanded a fleet of two hundred sail, with which he invaded Scotland, and in conjunction with the Earl of Hertford (commander-in-chief) took Edinburgh, being the first man who entered the gates. He next embarked for France, appeared before Boulogne then besieged by King Henry VIII. in person, and by his diligence and courage greatly facilitated the capture of the place, of which the King made him Governor, with the title of his Lieutenant-General.

Soon after the King had embarked for England, the Dauphin with an army of 50,000 men attempted to recover Boulogne by surprise : but he was repulsed by the Lord Admiral, with the loss of eight hun-

as a reward for which the King bestowed upon each of them a house and a hundred marks a-year for ever, out of the revenues of the knights of Rhodes, which by the parliament then sitting had been given to his Majesty.

ered of his best troops. He did not, however, raise the siege till the month of February 1544; when Dudley, with a small body of horse and foot, successfully sallied out, took twelve pieces of cannon, and obliged the enemy, though much superior in numbers, to make a final and precipitate retreat.

Francis I., being highly exasperated at the loss of Boulogne, contracted with the Italian states for a number of vessels, and having formed a fleet of two hundred sail beside galleys, gave instructions to Annebault, High Admiral of France, not only to recover it, but also to invade the English coasts. Lord Lisle however, upon his first appearance before St. Helen's, attacked him with only sixty sail, and defended himself so ably against eighteen ships of the enemy, which had been specially commissioned to beset him, that they were obliged to retire, and were quickly followed by the whole fleet. Not long afterward the English having received some troops on board, a general engagement ensued, which lasted two hours; when night coming on, the French took shelter in Havre de Grace, and thus ended their expedition. The English Admiral subsequently made a descent on the coast of France, burned the town and abbey of Treport in Normandy with thirty sail of ships in the harbour, and returned home, with the loss of only fourteen men.

Peace having been concluded in 1546, Dudley was appointed one of the commissioners to take the oath of Francis I. for the due observance of the treaty. In this embassy Tunstall Bishop of Durham, and Wotton Dean of Canterbury, were his colleagues; and in the same year he was put in commission with several persons of distinction, for settling the

accounts of the army. This was his last public service during the reign of Henry VIII., who for his eminent services bestowed upon him some considerable and very convenient grants of churchlands, and at his death not only made him one of his sixteen executors, appointed as joint-regents to govern the kingdom during the minority of Edward VI., but added to this honour a legacy of five hundred pounds.

The reader, who remembers by what means Somerset acquired the sole regency, will not be surprised at the enmity which Lord Lisle bore to that nobleman, when he is informed that the important office of High Admiral, though granted to him for life, was transferred to Sir Thomas Seymour, the Protector's brother. To compensate however in some degree this unjust measure, the Ex-Admiral was created Earl of Warwick, and made Great Chamberlain of England. So precipitately did Somerset lay the foundation of his own ruin! He received, likewise, considerable grants from the crown, particularly Warwick-Castle and manor: but these emoluments could not allay his boundless ambition.

Nor did he long wait for an opportunity to convince the nation, that his military talents, as well as his political abilities, were superior to those of the Protector. In the Life of Somerset, has been related the issue of the expedition to Scotland; and it must be acknowledged, that the Earl of Warwick, if he had been first in command, would most probably have pushed the war to a more glorious conclusion.

Upon his return to London, he found the nobility divided into two factions, occasioned by the quarrels

between the Protector and his brother; and with true Machiavelian policy, he widened the breach between them, at the very moment when he was labouring, by means of a third party, to accomplish the ruin of both. With this view finding that Sudley had rashly proceeded to overt-acts of treason, he warmly urged the necessity of his being attainted in parliament; and, after conviction, he continually pressed Somerset to consent to his execution. No greater proof can be given of the Protector's deficiency in the knowledge of mankind, than his having taken upon this occasion the advice of one who had never lost sight of the office of which he had been deprived, and in which he was re-instated, not long after the death of Lord Sudley.

The insurrections, which happened throughout England in the year 1549, on account of the enclosures, have been already noticed in the Life of the Protector. Against the Norfolk insurgents amounting to 16,000, whose reduction had been in vain attempted by the Marquis of Northampton and Lord Sheffield, the Earl of Warwick was sent with 6000 foot and 1500 horse. It was not, however, till after a general battle, that he was able to get possession of Norwich. Their leader (Robert Ket, a tanner) having taught the rebels some discipline, they drew up in excellent order, and fought with extreme bravery; and though they lost upward of 2000 men in the action, they resolutely entrenched themselves, and prepared for a second. The Earl, unwilling to shed their blood, despatched a herald to offer them a pardon, if they would deliver up their leaders; but this they refused, telling the herald, that 'they rather chose to fall in the field, than to be deluded by deceit-

ful promises to surrender, and then to be put to death like dogs.' Warwick, upon receiving this answer, prepared for action; but, previously to the onset, he again sent to inquire 'whether they would accept the pardon, if he himself came to them in person, and assured them of it.' To which they replied, "That he was a nobleman of such honour and generosity, that provided they might have this assurance from his own mouth, they were willing to submit." The Earl, accordingly, went in among them; upon which, they threw down their arms. Ket was taken the next day, and was hanged some time afterward at Norwich-Castle: nine of his principal followers were, likewise, hanged on the boughs of what they had stiled in their manifestoes the 'Oak of Reformation.'

Flushed with success, Warwick now began his association with the confederated lords, who finding him an enterprising man, an able general, a shrewd politician, and a favourite of the people, resolved to make him their chief instrument in reducing the Protector's power.

His intrigues, from this time to the death of Somerset, have been so amply detailed in the Memoirs of that unfortunate nobleman, that it will not be necessary to dwell upon the most important transactions of that turbulent period.

About the beginning of the year 1551 intelligence was received, that the Emperor intended to despatch a fleet to transport the princess Mary to Antwerp, in order to secure to her the free exercise of the mass; and a rebellion in Essex seeming to favour this design; she was brought up from that county, in which she then resided, to London. In this new abode,



endeavours were used by the King and council to convert her to the Protestant religion, but in vain. The Emperor now sent an angry message, threatening war; upon which the council deputed Wotton, Dean of Canterbury, with a declaration announcing, that 'the same favour which the King's protestant subjects should enjoy with respect to their religion in the imperial dominions, the Emperor's Roman Catholic subjects should enjoy in England; but that with respect to the King's own subjects, of whom Mary was one, he had no right whatever to interfere.' It must be confessed indeed, even by Warwick's enemies, that the vigour, which now animated the royal counsels with regard to foreign affairs, was chiefly owing to that nobleman's influence. Edward therefore, finding he possessed the qualifications of an able statesman, and seeing him apparently reconciled to his uncle, appointed him Lord Steward of his household and Earl Marshal of England; and shortly afterward created him Lord Warden of the Northern Marches, and Duke of Northumberland.

By this time, he had contracted alliances with some of the best families in England, and highly advanced his children and his friends: in particular, Sir Robert Dudley, one of his younger sons (subsequently Earl of Leicester) a man "who for lust and cruelty," says Hayward, "was the monster of the court, was made one of the six ordinary gentlemen of the King's chamber; and after his coming into place so near him, all authors agree, the King enjoyed his health but a little while."

That Somerset was not qualified to preside in administration, is generally allowed; but his exclusion from every responsible office was the heaviest

punishment for his past errors, which the other councillors required. The Duke of Northumberland however had a project in agitation, which made him dread the strict integrity, and remaining influence, of his Sovereign's uncle. After his death, having gained an entire ascendancy over the King (more perhaps through the operation of fear, than of affection) he began to forward his plot, which was farther hastened by the following circumstance.

The young monarch, notwithstanding every art used to divert him, grew pensive and melancholy. He was frequently found in tears, and upon the slightest mention of Somerset, which in referring to preceding acts of the council could not be avoided, he would sigh, says Hayward, and lament his own wretched situation in these pathetic terms: "How unfortunate have I been to those of my blood! My mother I slew at my birth, and since I have made away two of her brothers, and haply to serve the purposes of others against myself. The Protector had done nothing that deserved death, or if he had, it was very little, and proceeded rather from his wife than himself! Where, then, was the good nature of a nephew? Where the clemency of a prince? Alas! how have I been abused? How little was I master of my own judgement, that both his death, and the blame thereof, must be charged upon me!"

Some writers have asserted that the decay of Edward's health, which commenced about this time, was owing to natural causes, and that neither Northumberland nor his agents had any hand in hastening his death: and they assign as a reason, that the Duke had no cause to anticipate the decline of his power, so long as the King lived. But if we con-

sider, that this nobleman had advanced himself by political fraud and cruelty, it seems highly probable that he anticipated his fall from the ripening of the royal judgement, and concluded that the death alone of Edward could prevent the final discovery of his intrigues. He hastily concluded, therefore, a marriage between the lady Jane Grey, eldest daughter to the Duke of Suffolk, and his fourth son Lord Guilford Dudley. The nuptials were celebrated in May, 1553; and it deserves notice, that the illness of Edward had increased, with dangerous symptoms, from the month of January.

A little before the King's decease, Northumberland had procured the grant of a considerable supply, and in the preamble of that act a direct censure of Somerset's administration had been inserted; after which he dissolved the parliament. He then artfully stated to his Majesty the necessity of setting aside the princess Mary, from the danger which the Protestant religion would incur by her succession; and he, dreading the restoration of popery, freely consented to her exclusion. But it has perplexed Burnet and other historians to understand, how the Duke could prevail upon him to set aside likewise his beloved Protestant sister Elizabeth. The difficulty however is easily resolved, if we attend to the reasons adduced by the crown-lawyers and statesmen in Northumberland's interest, in support of the expediency of excluding both the princesses.

The chief-justice Montagu maintained, that 'the act of 35 Henry VIII. settling the crown upon Mary and Elizabeth; after the demise of Edward without issue, was rendered null and void by the act of the thirty-eighth of the same king, by which the mar-

riages of both their mothers were dissolved, their divorces confirmed, and their issue declared illegitimate; so that neither the letters patent, nor Henry's subsequent will, could confer any right of succession on persons totally disabled, as the act of the thirty-fifth limited the succession to legitimate issue.' Cecil argued, that 'though Elizabeth was a Protestant, she might marry a foreign prince, who might introduce popery.' And these representations, assuredly, prevailed with Edward; for they are mentioned in the letters patent, settling the crown on Lady Jane Grey. The same suggestion occasioned the exclusion of the issue of Margaret, Queen Dowager of Scotland, and eldest sister of Henry VIII. The Duchess of Suffolk, the next person mentioned in Henry's will, readily entered into Northumberland's views, and surrendered her right in favour of her daughter. An instrument was accordingly prepared, though not without considerable opposition from some of the judges, and being signed by the King on the twenty-first of June, when he was in deplorable debility both of mind and body, passed the great seal the next day, and was subscribed by the whole of the privy-council, the bishops, the major part of the nobility both with respect to numbers and consequence, and all the judges except Sir James Holles, one of the Justices of the Common Pleas, who constantly declared it to be treason.

Nothing now remained, but that his Majesty should not long survive; lest the recovery of his judgement with his health, and the application of sounder advice, should overthrow his crafty minister's projects. Soon after the instrument, therefore, had been sub-

scribed, an order of council was issued dismissing his physicians, and consigning him to the care of an ignorant woman, who undertook to restore him in a short time to his former strength. Instead of which, by the use of her medicines, all the unfavourable symptoms were increased to a most violent degree: he felt a difficulty of speech, and of breathing; his pulse failed; his legs swelled, his colour became livid, and on the sixth of July 1553 he died, a victim (it is to be feared) to the ignorance, or to the wickedness, of the empiric employed for his destruction.

With a view of drawing the princess Mary to court, Northumberland endeavoured for some time to conceal her brother's death; and such hopes were even held out of his recovery, that the people made general rejoicings upon the occasion. But it is highly probable she had a secret party in the council, who though through fear or from bribery they had subscribed to the Lady Jane's succession, now sent her private intelligence of the event: for, when she was within half-a-day's journey of London, she turned back in haste to her residence at Hovedon. Upon this, the Duke carried his daughter-in-law from Durham-House to the Tower, where the royal apartments had been prepared for her, and a canopy of state put up. On the tenth, she was proclaimed in the usual manner. The council also wrote to Mary, requiring her submission: but they speedily learnt, that she had retired into Norfolk, where many of the nobility and the people resorted to her. It was then resolved to send forces against her, under the command of the Duke of Suffolk; but Lady Jane would not suffer her father to leave her. The council,

therefore, earnestly pressed the Duke of Northumberland to go in person. Accordingly on the fourteenth of July, accompanied by the Marquis of Northampton, Lord Grey, and others, he marched through Bishopsgate with two thousand horse and six thousand foot; but as they rode through Shoreditch, he could not forbear observing, "The people press to see us, but not one says, 'God speed us.'" His activity and courage, for which he had previously been so celebrated, seemed from this time to have deserted him; for, though he advanced to St. Edmundsbury in Suffolk, yet finding his troops diminish, the people little affected to him, and no supplies following him from London, he fell back again to Cambridge.

In the mean time, the council on the nineteenth sent for the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and the Sheriffs, whom they accompanied to Cheapside, and there proclaimed Queen Mary. The Earl of Arundel, and Lord Paget, went the same night to pay their duty to her.

Of this, Northumberland had advice on the following day, and immediately caused her to be proclaimed at Cambridge, throwing up his cap, and crying, "God save Queen Mary!" His affected loyalty, however, was of no service to him: he was arrested by the Earl of Arundel (who not long before had protested, that he was ready to shed his blood at his feet) tried, convicted of high-treason, and sentenced to death. His behaviour under these unhappy circumstances was, to the last degree, mean and abject. After having faced every danger by sea and land, and adopted and pursued a series of the most perilous measures, when he at last encountered his fate, he

pusillanimously shrunk from it's approach ; and, upon his knees, besought the Earl of Arundel to intercede with the Queen for his life. After sentence likewise, he as weakly implored Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, his sworn foe, to exert all his interest in his favour : asking him if ' there were no hopes,' and declaring that ' he would be content to do penance and to live in a mouse-hole, if he might only live a little longer ;' but Gardiner tauntingly told him, ' he wished to God his Grace could have been content with any thing less than a kingdom, when he was at liberty and in prosperity :' to which he added a serious admonition for him to make his peace with heaven, and prepare for death.

His treatment of Somerset, which it is probable was the chief cause of his cold reception from the citizens of London when he proclaimed his daughter-in-law, was now more vividly remembered. As he was conducted to the Tower after his condemnation, numbers reproached him with it ; and a lady, exposing a handkerchief which had been dipped in his noble victim's blood, cried out : " Behold the blood of that worthy man, that good uncle of our late excellent king, which was shed by thy malicious practice, doth now revenge itself on thee !"

The twenty-first of August, 1553, was the day appointed for his execution ; when a vast concourse assembled upon Tower-Hill, and all the usual preparations were made, for the purpose : but, after waiting some hours, the people were ordered to depart. This delay was, to afford time for his making an open show of his change of religion ; as on that very day, in the presence of the Mayor and Aldermen, as well as of some of the privy-council, he

heard mass in the Tower.\* The next day, he was brought out to suffer death. Having finished a long speech to the people, professed his constant attachment to the church of Rome, and concluded his private devotions, the executioner asked him forgiveness; to whom he said, "I forgive thee with all my heart; do thy part without fear:" and bowing toward the block, he added, "I have deserved a thousand deaths." Then laying down his head, it was instantly severed from his body.

Thus deservedly fell John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, whose virtues (if they deserve the name) were merely those of the statesman and the soldier; and those were debased by the most subtle and unrelenting ambition. That he thoroughly understood indeed, and during his short administration strenuously promoted, the political and commercial interests of his country is abundantly proved by two instances, which, considered in a national light, may be admitted as an expiation for many of his faults.

The first was, the dissolution of the corporation of the merchants of the Steel-Yard in London, consisting of foreigners (chiefly Germans, subjects of the Hans-Towns) who engrossed the management of the foreign commerce of England, to the great injury of the native adventurers. Their complaints being brought before the privy-council, by the advice and under the patron-

\* It is strongly suspected, that he acted this disgraceful part, with the hope of saving his life: for it is affirmed, that 'he had a promise of pardon, if he would recant and hear mass;' and a similar deception was afterward frequently practised by Mary, to procure recantations from the protestants, whom however in violation of promises made in her name, and by her express order, she usually put to death.



age of Northumberland (after they had failed of redress in the courts of law, owing to the privileges granted by former kings to the corporation), the society was dissolved in the latter end of the year 1552, and thenceforward the trade in question was carried on in English bottoms.

In the second place, he established a Mart at Southampton for the woollen manufactures of England, which had previously been transported to Bruges and Antwerp at a considerable expense; the English being obliged, in addition to the freight in foreign bottoms, to support agents in Flanders to superintend their concerns. The new regulation, which took place in 1553, beside producing a most advantageous alteration in this vital branch of our commerce, was not less favourable to the kingdom in general; as it brought numbers of foreigners to visit this country, some of whom, settling in it, contributed to its subsequent progress in arts and manufactures during the reign of Elizabeth.

It has been inaccurately observed, that of his eight sons not one left any lawful issue: for Sir Robert Dudley (stiled abroad 'Earl of Warwick, and Duke of Northumberland') though declared illegitimate by his father Robert Earl of Leicester, appears to have been born in wedlock of that nobleman and the Lady Douglas Sheffield.

# HUGH LATIMER,

## BISHOP OF WORCESTER.\*

[1475—1555.]

**HUGH LATIMER** was born at Thureaston, in Leicestershire, about the year 1475. His father was a reputable yeoman, who rented a small farm, upon which in those frugal times he maintained a large family, consisting of one son and six daughters.

Of this family the best account is given in one of his Lent-Sermons, preached before Edward VI.; in which, after exclaiming against the enclosures of common lands, and other oppressions at that time practised by the nobility and gentry, he takes notice of the moderation of the landlords a few years before, and of the ease and plenty enjoyed by their tenants; as a proof of which he adds, that upon “a farm of three or four pounds by year at the uttermost, his father (a yeoman, having no lands of his own) tilled so much as kept half a dozen men; that he had walk for a hundred sheep, and thirty kine; that he found the King a harness, with himself and his horse, while he came to the place that he should receive the

\* **AUTHORITIES.** Gilpin's *Life of Latimer*, Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, Fox's *Acts and Monuments*, &c., and Ridley's *Life of Bishop Ridley*.

King's wages : himself remembering to have buckled his harness, when he went to Blackheath-Field ; that he kept him to school, and married his sisters with five pounds (or twenty nobles) a-piece ; that he kept hospitality for his poor neighbours, and some alms he gave to the poor."

The juvenile part of Latimer's life affords nothing worthy of notice. It was not till about the year 1500, when having taken the degree of M. A. at Christ's College, Cambridge, and entered into Priest's orders, his zeal for the doctrines of the Romish church manifested itself by violent declamations against the German reformers, whose opinions had at that time begun to be propagated in England. If any professor, suspected of favouring their tenets, read lectures, he attended ; and the University, in recompence for his zeal, having conferred upon him the office of cross-bearer, he exercised his authority over the scholars by driving them from their schools.\*

Fortunately however for the church of England, of which he subsequently became so illustrious a support, he contracted an acquaintance with Mr. Thomas Bilney ; who entertaining a good opinion of him from his moral character, conceived a hope that by communicating to him his observations upon the scandalous lives of the Romish clergy, and comparing them with the exemplary conduct of the Reformers, he might induce him to think more favourably of their doctrines. Prepossessed with this confidence, and having entered into some conferences with him upon religious subjects, Bilney took occasional oppor-

\* Upon taking his degree of B. D., he delivered an oration against Melanchthon, whom he treated with great severity, for what he called ' his impious innovations in religion ! '

tunities of insinuating, that some of the tenets of popery were not consonant to primitive Christianity; thus gradually exciting a spirit of inquiry in Latimer, who had always acted upon honest principles: till in the end, he was fully convinced of his errors. From this time, he became extremely active in propagating the Reformed Faith; preaching in public, exhorting in private, and every where pressing the necessity of a holy life, in opposition to the superstitious mummeries which then prevailed in the Romish church.

The first remarkable opposition he encountered from the popish party, was occasioned by a course of sermons, which he preached during the festival of Christmas before the University. In these, he delivered his sentiments concerning the impiety of indulgences, the uncertainty of tradition, and the vanity of works of supererogation; inveighed against the multiplicity of ceremonies with which religion was at that time incumbered, and the pride and usurpation of the hierarchy; and dwelt, more particularly, upon the great abuse of locking up the scriptures in an unknown language.

Great was the outcry occasioned by these discourses. Latimer was already a preacher of considerable eminence, and displayed a remarkable address in adapting himself to the capacities of the people. The orthodox clergy, observing him much followed, thought it high time to oppose him openly. This task was undertaken by Dr. Buckenham, Prior of the Black-Friars, who appeared in the pulpit a few Sundays afterward, and with great pomp and prolixity endeavoured to show the dangerous tendency of the new opinions, especially those, which con-

tended for the publication of the Scriptures in the vernacular tongue: "The ploughman," said he, "when he heareth this in the Gospel, *no man that layeth his hand on the plough and looketh back is meet for the kingdom of God*, might peradventure, hearing this, cease from the plough. Likewise the baker, when he hears that *a little leaven corrupteth a whole lump of dough*, might perchance leave our bread unleavened, and so our bodies shall be unseasoned. Also the simple man, when he heareth in the Gospel, *If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee*, may make himself blind, and so fill the world full of beggars."

To this species of reasoning his ardent opponent listened with secret pleasure, and determined in his next discourse to expose the solemn trifler. On the following Sunday, when it was known Latimer would preach, the whole university assembled. All his words and actions were pervaded by a vein of pleasantry and humour, which, it was imagined, would upon this occasion have it's full course: and the preacher was not a little conscious of his own superiority. To complete the scene, just before the sermon began, Buckenham himself entered the church with his friar's cowl about his shoulders, and seated himself with an air of importance before the pulpit.

Latimer having first with great gravity recapitulated the learned doctor's arguments, and placed them in the strongest light, proceeded to rally them with such a flow of wit, and at the same time with so much good humour, that without the least appearance of ill-nature he made his adversary in the highest degree ridiculous. He then ably appealed to the people, descanted upon the low esteem in which their

holy guides had always held their understanding, expressed the utmost offence at their being treated with so much contempt, and wished 'his honest countrymen might only be indulged in the use of the Scriptures till they showed themselves such absurd interpreters.' He concluded his discourse with a few observations upon scripture-metaphors. A figurative manner of speech, he contended, was common in all languages: representations of this kind were in daily use, and generally understood. "As, for example, said he (addressing himself to that part of the audience, where the Prior was seated) when they paint a fox preaching out of a friar's cowl, none is so mad to take this to be a fox that preacheth, but know well enough the meaning of the matter; which is, to point out unto us, what hypocrisy, craft, and subtle dissimulation lieth hid many times in these friar's cowls, willing us thereby to beware of them."\*

This levity, however, Latimer himself probably thought not necessarily demanded by the subject; for when one Venetus, a foreigner, not long afterward attacked him again, in a manner the most scurrilous and provoking, upon the same subject, we find him using a graver strain. He answers, like a scholar, what is worth answering; and, like a man of sense, he leaves the absurd part to answer itself. But whether jocose or serious, his harangues were so animated, that they seldom failed of their intended effect: his light raillery had shut up the Prior within his monastery, and his solid arguments drove Venetus from the University. From the joint labours

\* "With this sermon," says Fox, "friar Buckenham was so dashed, that never after he durst peep out of the pulpit against Mr. Latimer."

of Bilney and Latimer, whose lives strictly corresponded with the purity of their doctrines, the protestant cause speedily acquired great credit at Cambridge; and no academical censures were found sufficient to deter the students from attending their lectures.

Dr. West Bishop of Ely, being solicited to silence Latimer, after hearing him preach, though he expressed his approbation of his discourse, prohibited him from occupying any of the pulpits within his diocese. But this gave no great check to the reformers; for a Prior\* in Cambridge, who favoured the principles of the Reformation, and whose monastery was exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, boldly licensed him to preach there. Hither his party followed him; and the late opposition having strongly excited public curiosity, the Friars' chapel was unable to contain the crowds which attended. His diocesan himself was, frequently, one of his hearers; and candidly declared, that 'Mr. Latimer was one of the best preachers he had ever heard.'

The credit which he had thus gained by his preaching, he maintained by the sanctity of his manners. Nor did Mr. Bilney and he satisfy themselves with acting unexceptionably: they gave daily instances of piety and benevolence, which malice could not scandalise, nor envy misinterpret. They were always in company, concerting measures for the advancement of true religion; and the place, where they used to walk, was long afterward known by the name of 'The Heretics' Hill.' Cambridge, at the time, was full of their good actions: and their

\* Dr. Barnes, of the Austin-Friars.

extensive charities to the poor, with their friendly visits to the sick and the afflicted, were the topics of universal conversation.

At length heavy complaints were sent to the ministry in London, of the surprising increase of heresy, of which Latimer was accused as the principal propagator; and Wolsey in consequence, importuned by Warham Archbishop of Canterbury, and the prelates then at court, ordered Latimer to appear before him at York-House. After some private conversation, however, he dismissed him courteously, and granted him a special licence to preach wherever he chose.

Of this privilege Latimer speedily availed himself, in different parts of the kingdom: he had even once or twice the honour of preaching before Henry VIII. at Windsor, upon which occasions the King took particular notice of his discourses. This encouraged him to write a very bold letter to his Majesty, when the royal proclamation was issued forbidding the use of the English Bible, and other books on religious subjects. From the time that the Reformation was first encouraged in England by private persons, its promoters had constantly dispersed among the people a variety of polemical tracts, and others exposing the corrupt lives of the Popish clergy. These books were printed abroad; and after the Reformers had taken the name of PROTESTANTS,\* they sent them over in great quantities to their English brethren. Against these was levelled the proclamation; empowering the bishops to imprison at pleasure all per-

\* This they did at the diet held at Spire in 1529, from the PROTEST which they then made against the errors of Popery.



sons suspected of possessing heretical books, till the party had purged himself, or abjured; authorising them, likewise, to set an arbitrary fine upon all persons convicted; prohibiting appeals in any case from the ecclesiastical courts, and injoining the civil officers to aid in the extirpation of heresy. As the cruel bigotry of the clergy rendered this proclamation extremely sanguinary, some persons having been burnt for reading the Bible, and others for teaching their children the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments; Latimer, in his letter to the King, with pious fortitude remonstrated against it, pointed out the evil intentions of the bishops in obtaining it, guarded him against the malevolence of those who insinuated that the Reformers were a set of men disposed to disturb the peace of the kingdom, and laboured to convince him that the free use of the Scriptures would improve, instead of impairing, the allegiance of his subjects. After vouching more specifically for the good characters of the unfortunate persons then in custody, he makes the following nervous and pathetic conclusion: "Accept, gracious Sovereign, without displeasure, what I have written. I thought it my duty to mention these things to your Majesty. No personal quarrel, as God shall judge me, have I with any man: I wanted only to induce your Majesty to consider well what kind of persons you have about you, and the ends for which they counsel: indeed, great Prince, many of them, or they are much slandered, have very private ends. God grant your Majesty may see through all the designs of evil men; and be, in all things, equal to the high office with which you are entrusted! Wherefore, gracious King, remember yourself; have pity upon your soul; and think that

the day is even at hand, when you shall give accounts of your office, and of the blood that hath been shed with your sword. In the which day, that your Grace may stand steadfastly, and not be ashamed, but be clear and ready in your reckoning, and to have (as they say) your *Quietus est* sealed with the blood of our Saviour Christ, which only serveth at that day, is my daily prayer to him that suffered death for our sins, which also prayeth to his Father for grace for us continually. To whom be all honour and praise for ever. Amen. The Spirit of God preserve your Grace. *Anno Domini 1530, 1 die Decembris.*" With such freedom did this worthy man address his Sovereign: but the influence of the Popish party was then so powerful, that his letter produced no effect. Henry however, who notwithstanding his vices had an open disposition, and was a great lover of sincerity in others, thanked him for his well-meant advice, and was so much impressed indeed with his simple and familiar stile, that from this time it appears he entertained thoughts of taking him into his service.

Favourable opportunities soon occurred to recommend Latimer to the royal favour: for on the grand points, of the divorce and of the supremacy, he exerted himself strenuously at Cambridge in favour of the King's designs; especially upon the latter, on which occasion he joined with Dr. Butts, the King's physician, in obtaining the opinions of several divines and canonists in that University in it's support. In return for this assistance, Butts took Latimer with him to court; and Cromwell, who was then rising into power, and a warm friend of the Reformation, having already conceived a high opinion of him, speedily procured him a benefice.

This living was in Wiltshire, whither he determined as soon as possible to repair, and keep a constant residence. Dr. Butts, surprised at his resolution, did what he could to dissuade him from it. 'He was deserting,' he told him, 'the fairest opportunities of making his fortune.' But Latimer was not a man, upon whom such arguments could have any weight. He quitted the court, therefore, and entered immediately upon the duties of his parish. His behaviour was suitable to his resolutions. He had thoroughly considered the duties of a clergyman, and he discharged them in the most conscientious manner. Not satisfied indeed with discharging them merely in his own parish, under the authority of a general licence from his University he extended his labours throughout the county, wherever he observed the pastoral care to be neglected.

His preaching, which was in a strain wholly different from that of the times, rendered him highly acceptable to the people; among whom he quickly established himself in great credit. He was treated, likewise, with the utmost courtesy by the neighbouring gentry; and at Bristol, where he frequently occupied the pulpit, he was countenanced by the magistrates themselves. His growing reputation presently alarmed the orthodox clergy in those parts, and their hostility made it's appearance upon the following occasion: The Mayor of Bristol had appointed him to preach in that city on Easter-Sunday; when suddenly an order was issued by the Bishop of Bristol, prohibiting any one from preaching there without his licence. Upon this, the clergy of the place waited on Latimer, informed him of the inhibition, and knowing that he had no such licence,

‘ were extremely sorry, that they were thus deprived of the pleasure of hearing his excellent discourse.’ Latimer received their hypocritical civility with a smile; for he had been apprised of the affair, and well knew that these were the very persons, who had prejudiced the Bishop against him.

Their opposition to him became, subsequently, more public. Some of them in their zeal even ascended the pulpit, to inveigh against him with the utmost indecency of language. Of these the most forward was one Hubberdin, who could say nothing of his own, but any thing that was put into his mouth. Through this instrument, and others of the same kind, such liberties were taken with Latimer’s character, that he thought it proper at length to justify himself; and, accordingly, he called upon his calumniators to accuse him publicly before the Mayor of Bristol. And with all men of candour he was justified; for when that magistrate convened both parties, and put the accusers upon producing proof of what they had averred, the whole accusation was found to rest upon the miserable evidence of hear-say information.

His enemies, however, were not thus to be silenced. The party against him became, daily, stronger and more inflamed. It consisted, in general, of the country-priests, headed by some divines of higher eminence. These persons, after mature deliberation, drew up articles against him, extracted chiefly from his sermons; in which he was charged with speaking lightly ‘ of the worship of saints,’ with asserting that ‘ there was no material fire in hell,’ and that ‘ he had rather be in purgatory than in Lollard’s Tower:’ and laid them, in the form of an accusation, before Stokesley

Bishop of London. This prelate immediately cited Latimer to appear before him. But Latimer, instead of obeying the citation, appealed to his own ordinary, thinking himself wholly exempt from the jurisdiction of any other bishop. Stokesley, upon this, making a private cause of it, determined at any rate to get him into his power. He applied therefore to Archbishop Warham, who was prevailed upon to issue a citation from his own court, which Latimer obeyed. His friends persuaded him to leave the country; but their entreaties were fruitless, and he set out for London, though it was then the depth of winter, and he was actually labouring under a severe fit both of the stone and the cholic. His bodily complaints, however, did not give him so much pain, as the thoughts of leaving his parish exposed, where the popish clergy (he feared) would not fail in his absence to undo all that he had hitherto been doing. Upon his arrival in London, he found a court of bishops and canonists assembled to receive him; but instead of being examined, as he had expected, about his sermons, he was ordered to subscribe a paper, declaring 'his belief in the doctrine of purgatory, in the efficacy of masses, of prayers to the saints, and of pilgrimages to their sepulchres and relics, in the perpetual obligation of vows of celibacy, unless dispensed with by the Pope, in the papal power to forgive sins, in the seven sacraments,' and in the other absurd usages which at that time characterised the Romish church!

Having perused the contents, he refused to sign it. The Archbishop, with a frown, desired him well to consider what he did. "We intend not," said he, "Mr. Latimer, to be hard upon you; we dismiss

you for the present: take a copy of the articles; examine them carefully; and God grant that, at our next meeting, we may find each other in better temper."

At the next meeting, and at several succeeding ones, the same scene was acted over again; both sides continuing inflexible. The bishops however, being determined, if possible, to make him comply, began to treat him with greater severity. Of one of these examinations he himself gives us the following account:

"I was brought out," says he, "to be examined in a chamber, where I was wont to be examined; but at this time it was somewhat altered. For, whereas before there was a fire in the chimney, now the fire was taken away, and an arras hanged over the chimney; and the table stood near the chimney's end. There was, among these bishops that examined me, one with whom I have been very familiar, and whom I took for my great friend, an aged man, and he sat next the table-end. Then, among other questions, he put forth one, a very subtile and crafty one; and, when I should make answer, 'I pray you, Mr. Latimer,' said he, 'speak out; I am very thick of hearing, and here be many that sit far off.' I marvelled at this, that I was bidden to speak out, and began to misdeem, and gave an ear to the chimney; and there I heard a pen plainly scratching behind the cloth. They had appointed one there to write all my answers, that I should not start from them. God was my good Lord, and gave me answers; I could never else have escaped them."

Thus the bishops continued to distress Latimer; examining him three times every week, with a view

either to draw something from him by captious questions, or to tease him finally into compliance: and indeed, at length, he was tired out. Accordingly, when he was next summoned, instead of obeying the citation, he sent a letter to the Archbishop; in which, with great freedom, he told him, ‘ That the treatment he had of late met with had fretted him into such a disorder, as rendered him unfit to attend them that day: that, in the mean time, he could not help taking this opportunity to expostulate with his Grace, for detaining him so long from the discharge of his duty: that it seemed to him most unaccountable that they, who never preached themselves, should hinder others: that, as for their examination of him, he really could not imagine what they aimed at; they pretended one thing in the beginning, and another in the progress: that, if his sermons were what gave offence (which, he persuaded himself, were neither contrary to the truth, nor to any canon of the church) he was ready to answer whatever might be thought exceptionable in them: that he wished a little more regard might be had to the judgement of the people, and that a distinction might be made between the ordinances of God and man: that, if some abuses in religion did prevail (as was then commonly supposed) he thought preaching was the best means to discountenance them: that he wished all pastors might be obliged to perform their duty; but that, however, liberty might be given to those who were willing: that, as for the articles proposed to him, he begged to be excused from subscribing them; while he lived, he never would abet superstition: and, that, lastly, he hoped the Archbishop would excuse what he had written; he knew his

duety to his superiors, and would practise it; but, in that case, he thought a stronger obligation laid upon him.

Latimer had, indeed, a very narrow escape, from the influence of his friends about the King; for this very ecclesiastical court had proceeded nearly in the same manner with Bilney, who after a similar examination had been persuaded by Tunstall Bishop of Durham to recant, and to bear a faggot upon his shoulder in token of submission. This happened in 1528, and Bilney subsequently feeling great remorse of conscience for his recantation, became extremely melancholy, avoiding company, and observing the severity of an ascetic: after which, he went about preaching the Reformation, and confessing the guilt of his abjuration; till at length in 1531 he was apprehended by the Bishop of Norwich, and burnt in pursuance of a writ from the Ecclesiastical Court at London, as a relapsed heretic.

What particular effect Latimer's letter produced, we are not informed; but the King, apprised (most probably, by Lord Cromwell's means) of the ill usage he had met with, interposed in his behalf, and rescued him out of the hands of his enemies.

The attachment which Latimer had shown to the cause of the Reformation, the assistance which he had given in forwarding the divorce, and the services which he might perform in a more conspicuous station, were strong inducements to engage the Queen, Anne Boleyn, and Cromwell (now Prime Minister) to urge his promotion. They, therefore, jointly recommended him to the King for one of the bishoprics, Worcester or Salisbury, both at this time vacant by the deprivation of Ghinuccio and Campeggio, two Italian bishops,



who had fallen under the royal displeasure. Henry, thus powerfully solicited, and being himself likewise strongly disposed in his favour, offered him the see of Worcester, which he accepted in 1535.

All the contemporary historians represent him as a person remarkably zealous in the discharge of his new functions. In reforming the clergy of his diocese, which he deemed the chief branch of the episcopal office, he was uncommonly active and resolute. With the same spirit, he presided over his Ecclesiastical Court. In his visitations, he was frequent and attentive; in ordaining, strict and wary; in preaching, indefatigable; in reproof and exhorting, severe and persuasive.

Thus far he could act with authority: but, in other things, he still found himself under numerous difficulties. The ceremonies of the popish worship gave him great offence: and yet, in times so unsettled, he neither durst wholly lay them aside; nor, on the other hand, was he willing to retain them. In this dilemma, his address was admirable. He inquired into their origin; and, when he found any of them derived from a good meaning, he took care to inculcate that original meaning in the room of a corrupt interpretation. Thus, when bread and water were distributed, he taught the people that ‘these elements, which had long been regarded as endowed with a kind of magical influence, were nothing more than appendages to the two sacraments of the Lord’s Supper and Baptism:’ “The former,” he said, “reminded us of Christ’s death; and the latter was a representation of our being purified from sin.”

While his endeavours to reform were thus confined

within his own diocese, he was called upon to exert them in a more public manner; having received a summons to attend the parliament and the convocation. This meeting was opened in the usual form by a Latin sermon, or rather an oration, delivered by Latimer, whose eloquence was now every where celebrated. As he did not, however, particularly distinguish himself in the debates of the convocation, which ran very high between the protestant and popish parties, we shall only add, that a bold attempt was made to subject him and Cranmer to some public censure; but, through their own and Cromwell's interest, they were too well established to fear any open attack from their enemies.

Latimer in the mean while, after a short stay in London, satisfied with the prospect of a reformation, repaired to his diocese. He had no talents, and he knew that he had none, for politics; and, therefore, he meddled not with them. His whole ambition was, to discharge the pastoral functions of a bishop, without affecting to display either the abilities of the statesman, or those of the courtier. How very unqualified indeed he was to support the latter of these characters, will sufficiently appear from the following story: It was the custom of the prelacy, at that time, to make presents to the Sovereign, upon the first day of a new year; and many of them, proportioning their gifts to their ambition, were extremely liberal upon such occasions. Among the rest, the Bishop of Worcester, being at this season in town, waited upon the King with his offering: but instead of a purse of gold, the common oblation, he presented a New Testament, with a leaf doubled down in a very con-

spicious manner at the passage, "*Whoremongers and adulterers God will judge!*"\*

After residing about two years in his diocese, he was again summoned to London in 1539 to attend the business of parliament: and, soon after his arrival, he was accused before the King of having preached a seditious sermon. This sermon, which he had delivered at court, was unquestionably very severe against whatever he observed amiss. His accuser, said to have been a person of considerable eminence, was most probably Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester; who was now coming into high favour, and had alienated the royal mind from the protestant interest. Latimer, being called upon by his Majesty with some sternness to vindicate himself, far from denying or even palliating what he had uttered, boldly justified it; and turning to his Sovereign with that noble unconcern, which a good conscience ever inspires, added: "I never thought myself worthy, nor I never sued to be a preacher before your Grace; but I was called to it, and would be willing, if you mislike me, to give place to my betters: for I grant, there be a great many more worthy of the room than I am; and if it be your Grace's pleasure to allow them for preachers, I could be content to bear their books after them. But, if your Grace allow me for a preacher, I would desire you to give me leave to discharge my conscience, and to frame my doctrine according to my audience. I had been a very doct indeed, to have preached so at the borders of your realm, as I preached before your grace." The mag-

\* "With a napkin," says Fox, "having this posy, *Fornicatores et adulteros judicabit Dominus.*"

nanimity of this answer baffled his accuser's malice: the severity of Henry's countenance relaxed into a gracious smile; and the Bishop was dismissed with an obliging freedom, which this monarch never adopted but toward those whom he esteemed.

About this time, the Six Articles of Religion, having passed both Houses, received the royal assent: they were justly stiled 'The Bloody Articles' by the Protestants, who foresaw that they were calculated to restore the Romish religion. It was enacted by the statute, that 'whoever should deny the doctrine of transubstantiation, either in speech or by writing, should as heretics be burnt without the privilege of abjuration, and forfeit their estates to the King:' and that 'whoever should maintain the necessity of communicating in both species, or affirm that it was lawful for priests to marry, that vows of chastity might be violated, that private masses were useless, or that auricular confession was not necessary to salvation, should suffer death as felons, without benefit of clergy.'

Thus were Papists and Protestants, by the versatility and violence of Henry's disposition, equally exposed to the flames: the first, if they denied the King's supremacy; the latter, if they opposed the Six Articles. Latimer was one of the first, who took offence at these articles: he not only refused, indeed, to give his vote in favour of them, but thinking it wrong even to hold any office in a church where such terms of communion were required, he also resigned his bishopric. Returning from the parliament-house to his lodgings he threw off his robes, and leaping up, declared to those who stood about him, that 'he felt lighter than he had ever found himself before.'

After this, he immediately retired into the country, where he resolved to spend the remainder of his days in a sequestered life. But a dangerous bruise, occasioned by the fall of a tree, obliging him to seek better assistance than could be afforded by the surgeons in his immediate neighbourhood, he again repaired to London. Here he found things in a still worse condition than he had left them. The Duke of Norfolk and the Bishop of Winchester, who had been the principal instruments in the ruin of the Earl of Essex, were now at the head of the popish party; and, under their direction, such a scene of blood was exhibited, as England had never before been doomed to behold. Latimer, among others, felt the effects of their bigotry; and, being accused of having spoken against the Six Articles, was in consequence committed to the Tower. It does not appear, indeed, that any formal process was carried on against him, or that he was ever judicially examined. But, under one pretence or another, he suffered a cruel confinement during the remainder of Henry's reign.

After having spent upward of six years in the Tower, on the accession of Edward VI. Latimer, with all the rest who had been imprisoned in the same cause, was set at liberty; and, as his old friends were now in power, he was received by them with every mark of affection. The parliament even addressed the Protector to replace him in the bishopric of Worcester, to the great distress of Heath his successor,\* who was a violent bigot to the Romish church. But on the resumption being proposed to Latimer, he desired to be excused, alleging his advanced age, and the

\* He was deprived in 1550.

claim which he consequently had to privacy and quiet. Having thus freed himself from all incumbrances, he accepted an invitation from his friend Archbishop Cranmer, and took up his residence at Lambeth, where he led a very retired life.

His chief employment was, to hear the complaints, and to redress the injuries of the poor people; and his character for services of this kind was so universally known, that strangers from every part of the kingdom resorted to him for the redress of their grievances. In these occupations, and in assisting Cranmer to compose the Homilies, he spent upward of two years.

But, as he was one of the most eloquent preachers in England, he was appointed during the first three years of the new reign, to preach the Lent sermons before the King.\* Upon these occasions, he attacked the vices of the great with honest freedom; charging them in particular with covetousness, bribery, and extortion so emphatically, that it was impossible for them by any self-deceit to avoid the direct application of his reproofs to themselves.

Upon the revolution at court, which took place after the Duke of Somerset's death, he retired into the country, and availed himself of the royal licence, as a general preacher, in those parts where he thought his labours might be most useful: but, on the acces-

\* At this time there were no sermons, except in the principal churches, and upon some particular fasts and festivals. Such crowds, we are informed by Heylin, went to hear Latimer, that the pulpit was removed out of the Royal Chapel into the Privy Garden: and so great was the effect of his discourses, that restitution was made to the King of very considerable sums, of which he had been defrauded.

sion of Mary, this privilege was withdrawn. The Bishop of Winchester, who had proscribed him among the first, cited him before the council. Of this summons he had notice some hours before the messenger's arrival, but he made no use of the intelligence; like other eminent Reformers of the time, choosing rather to meet, than to avoid persecution.

The messenger, therefore, found him equipped for his journey: at which expressing his surprise, Mr. Latimer told him, 'That he was as ready to attend him to London, thus called upon to answer for his faith, as he ever was to take any journey in his life: and that he doubted not but that God, who had already enabled him to stand before two princes, would enable him to stand before a third.' The messenger then acquainting him, that he had no orders to seize his person, delivered a letter, and departed. Hence it appears, that their object was, rather to drive him out of the kingdom, than to bring him to any public examination.

Latimer, upon opening the letter, and finding in it a citation from the council, resolved to obey it. He set out, therefore, immediately for London. As he passed through Smithfield, where heretics were usually burnt, he said cheerfully, "This place hath long groaned for me." The next morning, he waited upon the council, who, after loading him with reproaches, sent him to the Tower.

This was but the repetition of a former part of his life, accompanied however with harsher treatment, and giving him more frequent occasions to exercise his resignation; a virtue, which no man more eminently possessed. Neither did the usual hilarity of his disposition now forsake him; of which we have a

remarkable instance left on record. A servant going out of his apartment, Latimer called after him, and bid him 'tell his master, that unless he took better care of him, he should certainly escape him.' Upon this message the lieutenant, with some discomposure in his countenance, came to him, and desired an explanation of the message: "Why, you expect, I suppose, Mr. Lieutenant (replied Mr. Latimer) that I shall be burnt; but, if you do not allow me a little fire this frosty weather, I can tell you I shall first be starved."

About the same time Archbishop Cranmer,\* and Ridley,† Bishop of London, were committed to the Tower.

\* For an account of this eminent prelate, see his Life in this volume.

† Nicholas Ridley, after having spent some time in the study of divinity at the Sorbonne at Paris, and at the University of Louvaine in Flanders, first made himself conspicuous at Cambridge in 1530. At this time, two Oxford students visited Cambridge, and challenged the whole university to a public disputation on the two following questions: 'Whether the civil law or medicine was more excellent, as a profession?' and 'Whether or not a woman condemned to death, after having been twice tied up, the cords breaking, ought to be tied up again?' No mention is made, which side of these frivolous questions Mr. Ridley took: but it is certain, that he quickly baffled one of the antagonists, and the other feigning sickness, to him exclusively, though he had four associates, was the victory ascribed.

In 1536, Archbishop Cranmer hearing of his reputation as a man of learning, made him one of his chaplains; and being delighted with him on a familiar acquaintance, bestowed upon him the vicarage of Herne in Kent, and ever afterward remained his patron.

In 1543, a fruitless attempt was made by the popish prelates to ruin Ridley and his patron; though the former at this time only objected to some of the Six Bloody Articles, and still believed in the doctrine of transubstantiation. But in 1545, having read some tracts published by the Zuinglians in Germany on the doc-



After they had remained there some months, the convocation sent them to Oxford, to attend a public disputation, where (it was said) the long-depending controversy between the Papists and the Protestants would be finally decided by the most eminent divines of both parties. But upon their arrival, in March 1554, they were all closely confined in the common prison, and denied the use of pen, ink, and paper; a plain proof, that no free discussion was intended. In this comfortless situation, their chief resource was prayer, in which they spent great part of every day. Latimer, in particular, would often continue kneeling, till he was unable to rise without help. The principal subject of his petitions was, that 'God would enable him to maintain the profession of his religion to the last; that he would again restore his gospel to England; and that he would preserve the Princess Elizabeth to be a comfort to the land.'

trine of the sacrament, in which transubstantiation was proved to be an innovation of the church of Rome, he became a thorough convert to all the tenets of the Reformation. In 1548, he was promoted to the see of Rochester; and, upon the deprivation of Bonner, translated to that of London, to which Westminster was united in the following year.

In 1551, he gave a striking proof of his piety; for though the sweating sickness then raged violently in London, he continued to reside, and assiduously endeavoured to improve this public calamity by preaching repentance and a reformation of manners. His zeal for the preservation of the Protestant religion having induced him, upon the death of Edward VI., to preach at St. Paul's in obedience to an order of council, recommending Lady Jane Grey to the people as their lawful queen, he was with Cranmer, upon Mary's accession, committed to the Tower; and though they might both have been tried with the other state prisoners for treason, proceeded against in due time as a heretic.

Fox has preserved a conference, subsequently committed to writing, which was held at this time between Ridley and Latimer. The two bishops are represented sitting in their prison, and ruminating upon the solemn preparations then making for their trial, of which probably they were now first informed. Ridley broke the silence. "The time," said he, "is at last come; we are now called upon, either to deny our faith, or to suffer death in it's defence. You, Mr. Latimer, are an old soldier of Christ, and have frequently withstood the fear of death; whereas I am raw in the service, and unexperienced." With this preface he introduces a request, that Latimer, whom he calls 'his father,' would hear him propose such arguments as he thought his adversaries would most probably urge against him, and assist him in providing himself with proper answers to them. To this Latimer, in his usual strain of good-humour, replied, that 'he fancied the good Bishop was treating him, as he remembered Mr. Bilney used formerly to do; who when he wanted to teach him, would always do it under colour of being taught himself.' "But, in the present case (said he) my Lord, I am determined, for myself, to give them very little trouble. I shall just offer them a plain account of my faith, and shall say very little more; for I know any thing more will be to no purpose. They talk of a free disputation; but, I am well assured, their grand argument will be that of their forefathers: 'We have a law, and by our law ye ought to die.'" However, upon Mr. Ridley's pressing his request, they entered into the examination he desired.

This part of their conference contains only the common arguments against the tenets of Popery:

When they had finished their exercise, Ridley desired Latimer's prayers, that he might be enabled to trust in God. "Of my prayers," replied the old bishop, "you may be well assured; nor do I doubt, but I shall have yours in return. And, indeed, prayer and patience should be our great resources. For myself, had I the learning of St. Paul, I should think it ill laid out upon an elaborate defence. Yet our case, my Lord, admits of comfort. Our enemies can do no more than God permits; and God is faithful, who will not suffer us to be tempted above our strength. Be at a point with them; stand to that, and let them say and do what they please. To use many words would be in vain; yet it is requisite to give a reasonable account of your faith, if they will hear you: for other things, in a wicked judgement-hall, a man may keep silence after the example of Christ. As for their sophistry, you know falsehood may often be displayed in the colours of truth. But, above all things, be upon your guard against the fear of death. This is the great argument you must oppose.—Poor Shaxton!\* it is to be feared, this argument had the greatest weight in his recantation. But let us be *'steadfast, and unmoveable;'* assuring ourselves, that we cannot be more happy, than by being such Philipians, as not only believe in Christ, but dare suffer for his sake."

The commissioners from the convocation arrived at Oxford in April, and assembled in St. Mary's

\* The Bishop of Salisbury, who recanted, and subsequently became a persecutor of the Protestants. The above account of the conference, though not literally extracted from Fox, contains the sum of what is stated by that voluminous Martyrologist.

church, where arrayed in scarlet they seated themselves before the high altar, and having placed the prolocutor Dr. Weston in the middle, sent for the prisoners. Cranmer and Ridley, being first brought in, were told that the convocation had signed their belief of the following articles, which the Queen expected they would either subscribe, or confute: '1. The natural body of Christ is really in the sacrament, after the words of consecration; 2. In the sacrament, after the words of consecration, no other substance does remain, than the substance of the body and blood of Christ; 3. In the mass is a sacrifice propitiatory for the sins of the quick and dead.' Cranmer and Ridley having refused to sign these articles, copies were delivered to them, and the prolocutor fixed two separate days, when he told them it would be expected, that they should publicly argue against them.

Latimer was next introduced, like a primitive martyr, in his prison-attire. He had a cap upon his head buttoned under his chin, a pair of spectacles hanging at his breast, a New Testament under his arm, and a staff in his hand. He was almost exhausted with pressing through the crowd; and the prolocutor ordering a chair to be brought for him, he walked up to it, and saying 'he was a very old man,' sat down without any ceremony. The articles were then read to him; when he also denied them. The prolocutor, upon this, telling him that he must dispute on the Wednesday following, the old Bishop, with as much cheerfulness as he would have shown on the most ordinary occasion, shook his palsied head, and with a smile replied, "Indeed, gentlemen, I am just as well qualified to be made governor of Calais."

He then complained, that 'he was very old, and infirm,' and said that 'he had the use of no book but that under his arm; which he had read seven times over deliberately, without finding the least mention made of the mass.' In this speech he gave great offence by saying, in his humorous way (alluding to transubstantiation) that 'he could find neither the marrow-bones, nor the sinews, of the mass in the New Testament.' Upon which the prolocutor cried out, with some warmth, that he would make him find both: "That you will never do, master doctor," answered Latimer; after which, he was silenced.

The venerable old man adhered to the resolution which he had stated in his conference with Ridley, and when the time of his disputation came, knowing (says Mr. Addison\*) "how his abilities were impaired by age, and that it was impossible for him to recollect all those reasons which had directed him in the choice of his religion, he left his companions, who were in the full possession of their vigour and learning, to baffle and confound their antagonists by the force of reason;" while he only repeated to his adversaries the articles, in which he firmly believed, and in the profession of which he was determined to die.

In the course of this mock disputation, all the arguments used by Cranmer and Ridley, instead of being fairly canvassed, were over-ruled by the uproar of tumult or the insolence of authority.

A few days afterward the commissioners, seated in their accustomed form, again sent for the bishops to St. Mary's church: where, after some vehement ex-

\* Spectator, No. 463.

hortations to recant, the prolocutor first excommunicated, and then condemned them. As soon as the sentence was read, Latimer lifting up his eyes exclaimed, "I thank God most heartily, that he hath prolonged my life to this end!" To which the prolocutor replied, "If you go to heaven in this faith, I am thoroughly persuaded I shall never get there."

The three bishops remained close prisoners at Oxford upward of sixteen months, till the Pope's authority and the legatine power were completely restored in England by act of parliament; for till the sanguinary laws against heretics were revived, they could not with any shadow of justice be put to death. A new commission therefore was granted by Cardinal Pole, the Pope's legate, to White Bishop of Lincoln, Brookes Bishop of Gloucester, and Hollman Bishop of Bristol, empowering them to cite Ridley and Latimer before them, in order to receive them into the bosom of the church, if they would renounce their errors; or to deliver them over as heretics to the secular power, if they continued obstinate.

On the thirtieth of September, 1555, these commissioners assembled in the divinity-school sent for Ridley, who refusing to subscribe to articles nearly the same as those previously tendered, Latimer was next introduced, and strongly urged by the Bishop of Lincoln to acknowledge the authority of the Pope.

Latimer thanked the prelate for his gentle treatment; but at the same time assured him, that it was in vain to expect from him any such acknowledgement. 'He did not believe,' he said, 'that this jurisdiction had been given to the Romish see, nor had the bishops of Rome behaved, as if their power were from God.' He then cited a Popish book, which had

recently been written, to show how grossly the Papists misrepresented Scripture: and concluded with saying, that 'he thought the clergy had nothing to do with temporal power, neither ought they ever to be entrusted with it; their commission, in his opinion, extending no farther than to the discharge of their pastoral functions.' To this the Bishop of Lincoln replied, "That he thought his stile not quite so decent as it might be; and as to the book, which he had quoted, he knew nothing of it." At this Latimer expressed his surprise, as 'it was written by a person of note, his brother-commissioner, the Bishop of Gloucester.'

That prelate, finding himself thus publicly challenged, rose up, and addressing himself to Latimer, paid him some compliments upon his learning, after which he spoke in vindication of his book. But his zeal carrying him too far, the Bishop of Lincoln interrupted him, and said, "We came not hither, my lord, to dispute with Mr. Latimer, but to take his answer to certain articles, which shall be proposed to him."

The articles were then read, and Latimer answered every one of them; at the same time protesting (which protestation he begged might be registered) that, notwithstanding his answers to the Pope's commissioners, he by no means acknowledged his authority. The notaries having taken down his answers and protestation, the Bishop of Lincoln told him, 'that, as far as he could, he would show lenity to him: that the answers, which he had now given, should not be prejudicial to him, but that he should be called upon the next morning, when he might make

what alterations he pleased; and that he hoped in God, he should then find him in a better temper.' To this the good old man replied, 'That he begged they would do with him then just what they pleased, and that he might not trouble them, nor they him, another day; for, as to his opinions, he was fixed in them, and any respite would be needless.' The Bishop however told him, that 'he must appear the next morning,' and adjourned the assembly.

Accordingly, the commissioners being re-seated, he was again brought in: and when the tumult was composed, Dr. White stated to him, that 'although he might justly have proceeded to judgement against him the day before, yet he could not help postponing it one day longer;' "In hopes (said he) sir, that you might reason yourself into a better way of thinking, and at length embrace what we all so much desire, that mercy, which our holy church now for the last time offereth to you." "Alas! my lord," answered Latimer, "your indulgence is to no purpose. When a man is convinced of a truth, even to deliberate is unlawful. I am fully resolved against the church of Rome; and, once for all, my answer is, I never will embrace it's communion. If you urge me farther, I will reply as St. Cyprian did on a like occasion. He stood before his judges, upon a charge of heresy; and being asked, 'Which were more probably of the church of Christ, he and his party, who were every where despised, or they his judges, who were every where in esteem;' resolutely answered, 'That Christ had decided that point, when he mentioned it as a mark of his disciples, that they should *take up their cross and*



*follow him.* If this then, my lords, be one of the characteristics of the Christian church, whether shall we denominate by that name the church of Rome, which hath always been a persecutor, or that small body of Christians, which is persecuted by it?" "You mention, sir," said the prelate, "with a bad grace your cause and St. Cyprian's together: they are wholly different." "No, my lord," replied Latimer, "his was the word of God, and so is mine."

Finding his repeated exhortations had no effect, the Bishop at length passed sentence upon him. Latimer then asked him, 'whether there was any appeal from this judgement?' "To whom," said the Bishop, "would you appeal?" "To the next General Council," answered Latimer, "that shall be regularly assembled." "It will be a long time," replied his judge, "before Europe will see such a Council as you mean." He then committed him to the custody of the Mayor, and dissolved the assembly. On the same day, likewise, sentence was passed upon Ridley, and the sixteenth of October, and a spot on the north-side of the town, near Baliol College, were appointed for the execution of the brother-martyrs.

Thither, on the day prescribed, the Vice-Chancellor and other officers of distinction repaired early in the morning; and a guard being drawn round the place, the prisoners were sent for. Ridley, accompanied by the Mayor, first entered the dreadful circle, soon after which Latimer was brought in: the former dressed in his episcopal habit; the latter, as usual, in his prison-attire. This difference in their dress, by it's affecting contrast, augmented the concern of the spectators; Ridley showing what they had

previously been, and Latimer what they were at present.

When they were about to prepare themselves for the fire, they were informed that they must first hear a sermon; upon which, a Dr. Smith ascended a pulpit prepared for the purpose, and in a discourse on the words, "*Though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing,*"\* treated both the characters and the tenets of the two venerable victims with savage inhumanity.

The discourse ended, Ridley was beginning to speak in defence of himself, when the Vice-Chancellor ran toward him, and stopping his mouth with his hand told him, "That if he was going to recant, he should have leave; but he should be permitted in nothing farther." Thus checked, the bishop looking round with a noble air, cried out, "We commit our cause then to Almighty God." An officer then stepped up, and acquainted them, "That at their leisure they might now make ready for the stake."

The spectators burst into tears, when they saw these two primitive men preparing for death. Reflecting on their preferments, the places of honour they held in the commonwealth, the favour they stood in with their princes, their great learning and greater piety, they were overwhelmed with sorrow to see so much dignity, so much honour, so much estimation, so many godly virtues, the study of so many years, and so much excellent learning, about to be consumed in one moment. Mr. Latimer, having thrown off the old gown which was wrapped

\* 1 Cor. xiii. 3.

about him, appeared in a shroud prepared for the purpose; and whereas before he seemed a withered and crooked old man, he now stood bolt upright, as comely a father as one might lightly behold.

When he and his fellow-sufferer were ready, they were both fastened to a stake with an iron chain. They then brought a faggot ready kindled, and laid it at Ridley's feet; to whom Latimer said, "Be of good comfort, master Ridley, and play the man; we shall this day light such a candle by God's grace in England, as I trust shall never be put out." After which recommending his soul to God, and the flames speedily reaching him, he quickly expired, apparently without much pain. But it was not so with Ridley; for by some mismanagement on his side of the stake, the wind blew the flames from the upper part of his body, and his legs were consumed before the fire approached the vital parts. This caused him to endure dreadful torments, till the blaze caught some gunpowder, which had been tied about their waists, and had hastened Latimer's death. The chain then loosening, his body fell at the feet of him, whose animating precepts and noble example had so eminently contributed to enable him to sustain this fiery trial.

From the preceding narrative the reader will have fully inferred the primitive and excellent character of its subject; his uniform simplicity of manners, his indefatigable professional activity, his cheerfulness and fortitude upon the most trying occasions, and his inflexible adherence to what he deemed his duty. Learning he cultivated, with a view not to its depth, but to its utility. As to his sermons, which are still extant, Mr. Gilpin observes, "They are far

from being exact pieces of composition. Elegant writing was, then, little known. Some polite scholars there were, Cheke, Ascham, and a few others, who from an acquaintance with classical learning, of which they were the restorers, began to think in a new manner, and could treat a subject with accuracy at least, if not with elegance. But in general the writers of that age, and especially the churchmen, were equally incorrect in their composition and slovenly in their language. We must not therefore expect, that Mr. Latimer's discourses will stand a critical inquiry. They are, at best, loose incoherent pieces. Yet his simplicity and low familiarity, his humour and glib drollery, were well adapted to the times; and his oratory, according to the mode of eloquence of that day, was exceedingly popular. His manner of preaching, too, was very affecting: and no wonder; for he spoke immediately from his heart. His abilities, however, as an orator made only the inferior part of his character as a preacher. What particularly recommends him is, that noble and apostolic zeal, which he exerts in the cause of truth. And, sure, no one had a higher sense of what became his office; was less influenced by any sinister motive; or durst with more freedom reprove vice, however dignified by worldly distinctions."

A collection of his sermons, to the number of forty, was published in 1570 by Augustus Bernhere, a Swiss (who calls the bishop "his master") and dedicated by him to Katharine Duchess of Suffolk. It was reprinted in 1572, and in 1685. Several of his letters are preserved in Fox's 'Acts and Monuments;' and among them his celebrated one to Henry VIII., in 1530, on 'the restoring again of the free liberty of

reading the Holy Scriptures.' His injunctions, likewise, to the prior and convent of St. Mary House in Worcester, during his first visitation in 1537, are inserted in the collection of Records at the end of the second volume of Burnet's 'History of the Reformation.'

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From the abovementioned Letter to his Sovereign an extract is here inserted, to enable the reader to estimate his stile and manner.

—' They have made it treason to your noble Grace to have the Scripture in English. Here I beseech your Grace to pardon me awhile, and patiently hear me a word or two: yea, though it be so that, as concerning your high majesty and regal power, whereunto Almighty God hath called your Grace, there is as great difference between you and me as between God and man. For you be here to me and to all your subjects, in God's stead, to defend, aid, and succour us in our right; and so I should tremble and quake to speak to your Grace. But again, as concerning that you be a mortal man, in danger of sin, having in you the corrupt nature of Adam, in the which all we be both conceived and born; so have you no less need of the merits of Christ's passion for your salvation, than I and other of your subjects have, which be all members of the mystical body of Christ. And though you be an higher member, yet you must not disdain the lesser. For, as St. Paul saith, "Those members that be taken to be most vile, and had in least reputation, be as necessary as the other, for the preservation and keeping of the body."'

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—‘ Seeing that the right David, that is to say, our Saviour Jesus Christ, hath sent his servants, that is to say, his true preachers, and his own word also to comfort our weak and sick souls, let not these worldly men make your Grace believe that they will cause insurrections and heresies, and such mischiefs as they imagine of their own mad brains; lest that he be avenged upon you and your realm, as was David upon the Ammonites, and as he hath ever been avenged upon them, which have obstinately withstood and gain-said his word. But peradventure they will lay this against me, and say that experience doth show how that such men, as call themselves followers of the Gospel, regard not your Grace’s commandment, neither set by your proclamation; and that was well proved by these persons, which of late were punished in London for keeping such books as your Grace had prohibited by proclamation: and so like as they regarded not this, so they will not regard or esteem other your Grace’s laws, statutes, or ordinances. But this is but a crafty persuasion. For your Grace knoweth that there is no man living, specially that loveth worldly promotion, that is so foolish to set forth, promote, or enhance his enemy whereby he should be let of his worldly pleasures and fleshly desires; but rather he will seek all the ways possible that he can, utterly to confound, destroy, and put him out of the way. And so as concerning your last proclamation prohibiting such books, the very true cause of it, and chief counsellors (as men say, and of likelihood it should be) were they, whose evil living and cloked hypoerisy these books uttered and disclosed. And howbeit that there were three or four, that would have had the Scripture to go forth in English, yet it happened there (as it is evermore

seen) that 'the most part overcometh the better;' and so it might be, that these men did not take this proclamation as yours, but as theirs set forth in your name, and they have done many times more, which hath put this your realm in great hindrance and trouble, and brought it in great penury; and more would have done, if God had not mercifully provided to bring your Grace to knowledge of the falsehood of the privy treason, which their head and captain was about; and be ye sure, not without adherents, if the matter be duly searched. For what marvel is it, that they being so nigh of your counsel, and so familiar with your lords, should provoke both your Grace and them to prohibit these books, which before by their own authority have forbidden the New Testament, under pain of everlasting damnation: for such is their manner, to send a thousand men to hell, ere they send one to God; and yet the New Testament (and so I think by the other) was meekly offered to every man, that would and could, to amend it if there were any fault.'

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—'I pray to God, that your Grace—may be found a faithful minister of his gifts, and not a 'Defender of his Faith;' for he will not have it defended by man or man's power, but by his word only, by the which he hath evermore defended it, and that by a way far above man's power or reason, as all the stories of the Bible make mention.'

*Anno Domini, 1530, 1 die Decembris.*

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His peculiarity of preaching and composition is well marked by the subjoined passage.\*

\* The customary subjects of sermons at this period, it should

—‘ We be many preachers here in England, and we preach many long sermons; yet the people will not repent, nor convert. This was the fruit, the effect, and the good, that his (Jonas’) sermon did, that all the whole city at his preaching converted, and amended their evil loose living, and did penance in sackcloth. And yet here in this sermon of Jonas is no great curiousness, no great clerkliness, no great affectation of words, nor painted eloquence: it was none other but, *Adhuc quadraginta dies, et Nineve subvertetur*: ‘ Yet forty days, *Nineve subvertetur*, and Nineveh shall be destroyed;’ it was no more. This was no great curious sermon; but this was a nipping sermon, a pinching sermon, a biting sermon: it had a full bite; it was a nipping sermon, a rough sermon, and a short biting sermon. Do you not here marvel, that these Ninevites cast not Jonas in prison, that they did not revile him, nor rebuke him? They did not revile him, nor rebuke him: but God gave them grace to hear him, and to convert and amend at his preaching. A strange matter, so noble a city to give place to one man’s sermon! Now, England cannot abide this gear; they cannot be content to hear God’s minister, and his threatening for their sins, though the sermon be never so good, though it be never so true. It is a naughty fellow, a seditious fellow; he maketh trouble and rebellion in the realm, he lacketh discretion. \* \* \* \* \*

—‘ Here is now an argument, to prove the matter

be remembered, were legendary tales of saints and martyrs, always incredible and commonly ridiculous; or miracles wrought in favour of transubstantiation, and other doctrines of the Romish church. To Cranmer and Latimer, in a great measure, we are indebted for the introduction of plain and rational discourses into the English pulpit,



against the preachers. Here was preaching against covetousness all the last year in Lent, and the next summer followed rebellion: *Ergo*, preaching against covetousness was the cause of the rebellion. A goodly argument! Here now I remember an argument of master More's, which he bringeth in a book that he made against Bilney; and here, by the way, I will tell you a merry toy. Master More was once sent in commission into Kent, to help to try out (if it might be) what was the cause of Goodwin Sands, and the shelf that stopped up Sandwich Haven. Thither cometh master More, and calleth the country afore him, such as were thought to be men of experience, and men that could of likelihood best certify him of that matter concerning the stopping of Sandwich Haven. Among others, came in before him an old man with a white head, and one that was thought to be little less than a hundred years old. When master More saw this aged man, he thought it expedient to hear him say his mind in this matter; for being so old a man, it was likely that he knew most of any man in that presence and company. So master More called this old aged man unto him, and said; "Father (said he) tell me, if you can, what is the cause of this great arising of the sands and shelves here about this haven, the which stop it up, that no ships can arrive here? Ye are the eldest man I can espy in all this company; so that, if any man can tell any cause of it, ye of likelihood can say most to it, or at leastwise more than any man here assembled." "Yea forsooth, good master (quoth this old man) for I am well nigh a hundred years old, and no man here in this company any thing near unto mine age." "Well then (quoth master More)

how say you in this matter? What think you to be the cause of these shelves and flats, that stop up Sandwich Haven?" "Forsooth, sir (quoth he) I am an old man. I think, that Tenterton-Steeple is the cause of Goodwin Sands. For I am an old man, sir (quoth he) and I may remember the building of Tenterton-Steeple, and I may remember when there was no steeple at all there. And, before that Tenterton-Steeple was in building, there was no manner of speaking of any flats or sands, that stopped the haven; and, therefore, I think that Tenterton-Steeple is the cause of the destroying and decay of Sandwich Haven." And so, to my purpose, is preaching of God's word the cause of rebellion, as Tenterton-Steeple was cause that Sandwich Haven is decayed!'

Another short passage may amuse the reader.

—'I warrant you, there was many a jolly damsel at that time in Bethlem, yet amongst them all there was not one found, that would humble herself so much, as once to go see poor Mary in the stable, and to comfort her. No, no; they were too fine to take such pains. I warrant you they had their bracelets, and verdingals, and were trimmed with all manner of fine and costly raiment: like as there be many now a-days amongst us, which study nothing else but how they may devise fine raiment; and in the mean season they suffer poor Mary to lie in the stable; that is to say, the poor people of God they suffer to perish for lack of necessities.

'But what was her swaddling clothes, wherein she laid the King of Heaven and Earth? No doubt, it was poor gear. Peradventure it was her kercher, which she took from her head, or such like gear: for I think Mary had not much fine linen; she was

not trimmed up, as our women be now-a-days. I think, indeed, Mary had never a verdingal; for she used no such superfluities, as our fine damsels do now-a-days: for, in the old times, women were content with honest and simple garments. Now they have found out these round-about; they were not invented then: the devil was not so cunning to make such gear; he found it out afterward: therefore Mary had it not. I will say this, and yet not judge other folks' hearts, but only speak after daily appearance and experience: no doubt it is nothing but a token of pride to wear such verdingals, and therefore I think that every godly woman should set them aside. It was not for nought, that St. Paul advertised all women to give a good example of sadness, soberness, and godliness, in setting aside all wantonness and pride. And he speaketh of such manner of pride, as was used in his time: *non tortis crinibus*, 'not with laying out the hair artificially:' *non plicaturâ capillorum*, 'not with laying out the tussocks.' I doubt not but if verdingals had been used at that time, St. Paul would have spoken against them too, like as he spake against other things, which women used at that time to show their wantonness and foolishness. Therefore, as I said before, seeing that God abhorreth all pride (and verdingals are nothing else, but an instrument of pride) I would wish that women would follow the counsel of St. Paul, and set aside such gorgeous apparel, and rather study to please God, than to set their mind upon pride: or else, when they will not follow the counsel of St. Paul, let them scrape out those words, wherewith he forbiddeth them their proudness; otherwise, the words of St. Paul will condemn them at the last day. I say no more; wise

folks will do wisely. The words of St. Paul are not written for nothing: if they will do after his mind, they must set aside their foolish ~~verdingals~~; but if they will go forward in their foolishness and pride, the reward, which they shall have at the end, shall not be taken from them.'

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As a specimen of his Latinity, the first part of his reply to the '*Epistola Gulielmi Sherwodi adversus Dominum Latimerum Expostulatoria*' is here inserted. In this classical piece of vituperation, Latimer has been charged (among other crimes) with gross personalities in his Discourses, particularly against the Romish clergy, and with having derogated from the primacy of St. Peter. His answer begins:

'*Salutem plurimam.*

'*Non equidem sum ego vel adeò ferox, quod sciam, vir item eximie, ut ab homine Christianò Christianè admoneri molestè feram; vel adeò insensatus, et à communi sensu alienus (ni fallor) ut me prius sugillatum fuisse abs te et inter pocula; neque semel sugillatum, quàm admonitum, imo nec admonitum tandem, sed acerrimè potius redargutum, sed convitiis et mendaciis malè habitum potius; sed calumniis iniquè affectum potius, sed falsò condemnatum potius, constanter probem. Quod si tuis hisce literis pro illatum jure et mei animi ductu ego jam responderem—Sed cohibeo me, ne dum conor tuo morbo mederi, bilem tibi moveam, homini vel citra stimulum (ut præ se ferunt literæ) plus*

*quàm oportet bilioso. Imò det utrique Deus, quod ipse utrique nòrit commodè fore, et mihi videlicet vel in mediis calumniis patientiam Christiano homine dignam, et tibi judicium aliquando tam rectum, quàm nunc habes xelum tuo pte Marte benè fervidum. Conducibilius, opinor, fuerit sic orare, quàm ejusmodi criminationi apologiam parare, quam et ego jam negotiosior sum pro concione mihi perendiè dicendâ, quàm ut commodè possim respondere; et mendaciora sint tua omnia, quàm ut jure debeam ea confutare. Sed ut paucis tamen multis, si fieri possit, satisfaciam; primum operæ pretium fuerit in medium statuere, et quid ego dixi, et quid tu ex dictis collegisti. Collegisti quidem multa, veluti sanguinem e silice colligendo excussurus. Sed sic est affectus, uti video, erga me tuus [animus], quem ob rabiem ejusdem ægre nòsti dissimulare. Esto; dixerim ego ‘omnes Papas, omnes Episcopos, Vicarios, Rectoresque omnes, per ostium non intrantes, sed ascendentes aliunde, fures et latrones esse.’ Dum sic dixi, ex introitu et ascensu, non ex personis et titulis, cum Christo sum rem metitus. Hinc tu tuâ Minervâ colligis, omnes Papas, omnes Episcopos, Vicarios, Rectoresque omnes, simpliciter fures esse, saltem sic me dixisse. Num justa hîc (mi frater) collectio? An non juste in te quadret illud Pauli ad Romanos? “Sic aiunt nos dicere, sic malè loquuntur de nobis, sed quorum damnatio justa est,” inquit: et tamen justius videri possunt ex Paulo collegisse adversarii, quàm tu ex me. Jam si idem Dei verbum nunc quod prius, neque minus Deo gratum acceptumque, quisquis interim Minister verbi fuerit; nonne et eadem damnatio calumniatores ministri nunc manet quæ olim? Longè interest,*

dicis ‘omnes per ostium non intrantes fures esse,’ et ‘omnes simpliciter fures esse.’ Sed unde (quæso) dum ego dico ‘omnes per ostium non intrantes fures esse,’ videor tibi dicere ‘omnes simpliciter fures esse?’ nisi forte plerique omnes videntur tibi aliunde ascendere, et non per ostium intrare? Quod si senseris, ut nolo dicere, si sapiis (sapis autem plurimum) quod sentis. Cum quanto enim id dixeris tuo periculo, ipse videris: et nisi id senseris, cur per Deum immortalem ego non possum dicere ‘omnes esse fures, qui per ostium non intrantes ascendunt aliunde, quibuscunque interim titulis splendent,’ nisi videar tibi dicere statim ‘omnes ad unum fures esse;’ et tum quæ te potius cepit dementia, dum sic colligis, et plures fures quam pastores colligendo esse feceris. Nam velis nolis verum est quod ego dixi, nempe ‘quotquot per ostium non intrant, sed aliunde ascendunt, fures et latrones esse, seu Papæ seu Episcopi fuerint. Quare dum sic in ipso exorbitas limine, quo quorundam attinet reliqua examinare? Sed age, hoc tibi aridet plurimum, quod Pharisei sunt tam tectè a Christo reprehensi, et non palam: quomodo tum non displicebit è regione tibi acerbiosima illa, simul et apertissima criminatio, in os et coram turbâ illis objecta “Vae vobis Scribæ et Pharisei!” hypocritæ ubi nominati taxantur? Sed ‘Christus,’ inquis, ‘Deus erat, pervicaciam cordis conspicatus: tu verò homo patientium intuitor, non mentium rimator.’ Sum sanè homo (uti dicis) id quod citra tuam operam jam olim habeo exploratum: homo (inquam) sum, non labem in alieno corde delitescens, sed vitam omnibus patentem et expositam intuitus; adeoque ex fructibus cognoscens, quos Christus admonuit ex fructibus



cognoscendos: ipsum quorundam vivendi genus libenter damnans denique, quod in sacris literis sacrisque interpretibus damnatum toties comperio; nihil id quidem moratus, quæcumque ipsum amplectuntur persona: quod dum ego facio, neque cordium latebras ulterius penetro, nomine immerito abs te reprehendor? qui non homo mecum, sed plus quam homo es, dum mei animi emphasis notis per arrogantiam, quam egomet novi; utpote qui non sat habes quæ dico novissæ, sed quæ sentio nondum dicta novæ, abditissima cordis mei penetrasime rimatus, ne non scire in te ipsum competeret, quod in me torquere molitus es; nimirum noli ante tempus judicare, noli condemnare, ut discas quàm oportet mendacem non esse immemorem, ne proprio forsân gladio juguletur, et in foveam incidat ipse quam struxerat alteri. Nam dum ego pronuncio 'fures esse, quotquot per ostium non intrantes ascendunt aliunde,' tibi non verba solum audienti, sed et corculum meum contemplantî omnes ad unum fures esse pronuntio, excepto me ipso videlicet et aliis meæ farine hominibus nescio (inquis) quos. Sed quis illam fecit exceptionem, nisi tu, qui cognoscens occulta cordium sic, inquis, sensisse videris? Sed tibi sic sensisse videor, cui et dixisse videor, quod (ut liquidissimè constat) neutiquam dixi. Sed tibi peculiare est alios à cordis intuitu prohibere, ut ipse intuearis solus quicquid est in corde, acie videlicet tam perspicaci, ut videas in corde quod in corde nondum est natum: id quod ibi facis, dum quod ego de ecclesiâ rectè dixi, tu tuo more calumniaris iniquè; quasi ego, quod ad usum clavium attinet, æquassem omnes cum Petro, cum ne unum quidem verbum de clavium potestate sit dictum; imò ne cogitatum quidem, neque Petri pri-

*matui derogatum, ut cujus nulla sit facta mentio. Sed tu pro tuo candore sic colligis, dum ego nil aliud quàm admonui auditores ecclesiam Christi super petram non super arenam fundatam: ne mortuâ fide plus satis hæreant, tum perituri et portis inferorum facillimè cessuri; sed fidem operibus ostendant, tum demum vitam æternam habituri. Quid ego minus quàm omnes Christianos, ut ego sum, sacerdotes dixerim esse? Sed oculatissimi sunt invidi ad colligendum quod venantur. Nonne hîc optimo jure cogor nonnihil Christianæ caritatis in tuo pectore desiderare? Qui, dum nescis confutare quod dico, miris modis mihi impingis quod possis confutare.*

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## STEPHEN GARDINER,

BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.\*

[1483—1555.]

**STEPHEN GARDINER**, the chief contriver and instrument of the religious persecutions in the reign of Queen Mary, is supposed to have been the natural son of Lionel Widville, Bishop of Salisbury and brother to Elizabeth, the Queen of Edward IV. That prelate, in order to conceal his incontinence from the world, married his concubine when pregnant to one of his menial servants, whose name was Gardiner; and who thus became the reputed father of her child. He was born about the year 1483, at Bury St. Edmund's, in Suffolk; and in process of time became a student at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, where he first distinguished himself by his skill in Greek, his elegance in speaking and writing Ciceronian Latin, and his rapid progress in general learning. Afterward, confining himself exclusively to the study of the civil and canon law, he was in 1521 honoured with the degree of LL. D.; and his high academical reputation recommending him to the notice of the

\* **AUTHORITIES.** Herbert's *Life of Henry VIII.*, Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, *Biographia Britannica*, and *British Biography*.

most illustrious men at court, particularly Thomas Duke of Norfolk and Cardinal Wolsey, he was by the latter taken into his family in the capacity of Secretary.

In 1525, the King paying a visit to the Cardinal, found Gardiner employed in drawing the plan of a treaty of alliance with Francis I., which had been projected by his employer; and on perusing it, was so struck with his political talents, that from this time he received him into his confidence, and as a proof of it sent him to Rome in 1528 to negotiate the famous divorce. Edward Fox, Provost of King's College, Cambridge, and Almoner to his Majesty, was joined in the commission; only as second however to Gardiner, who was esteemed the best civilian in England, and stiled by Wolsey in his credential-letters to the Pope, 'Primary Secretary of the most Secret Councils.'

When the ambassadors arrived at Oviato, where the Pope then resided, Gardiner with great freedom of language represented to his Holiness (Clement VII.) the risk he ran of losing England by playing a double game, and how much injury he would do to Wolsey, if he disappointed his expectations. By this method he succeeded in obtaining, what his instructions required, a new commission for trying the cause in England, directed to Wolsey and Campeggio.

The account of this negociation, which Fox carried home with him, highly delighted the King and Anne Boleyn; but the Pope being taken ill, Wolsey sent despatches to Gardiner, desiring him to wait the event, and to exert himself in supporting his interest with the Cardinals, that in the event of that prelate's death he might be elected his successor.

The recovery of his Holiness for a time put an end to his intrigues. Another service Gardiner rendered to Wolsey during his embassy, which was peculiarly grateful to him: he reconciled the Pope to the endowing of his two colleges, at Oxford and at Ipswich, out of the revenues of the smaller monasteries. Finding Clement, however (as his envoy assured him) determined not to sanction the divorce, Henry recalled Gardiner from Rome, in order to avail himself of his talents in the management of his cause before the legatine court.

Upon his return, the archdeaconry of Norfolk was bestowed upon him in 1529 by Nyx Bishop of Norwich, for whom he had obtained some favours from the Pope. This appears to have been his first preferment in the church. In his temporal career, he made a more rapid progress; for the King, having constant occasion for his services, made him Secretary of State. And when Campeggio the year following referred the decision of the matter to Rome, Gardiner (who had, for some time, been Master of Trinity-Hall) in conjunction with Fox found out Cranmer, and having engaged him to write in favour of Henry's wishes undertook to manage the University of Cambridge, so as to procure their declaration on the royal side, after Cranmer's book should have appeared in its support.\*

For these exertions, his Sovereign amply rewarded him with ecclesiastical preferments: in the spring of the year 1531, he was installed Archdeacon of

\* Gardiner wished to take to himself the credit of Cranmer's judgement; but Fox, who had concurred with him in soliciting it, more ingenuously informed the King of its true source.

Leicester, upon which he resigned the archdeaconry of Norfolk; and in the September following, he also vacated the former in favour of his coadjutor Dr. Fox, who became subsequently Bishop of Hereford. In November, he was consecrated Bishop of Winchester.

Dr. Gardiner, it appears, was not apprised upon this occasion of the intention of Henry, who would sometimes rate him soundly, and, at the instant he bestowed on him the vacant see, put him in mind of it. "I have often," said he, "squared with you, Gardiner (a word he used for these kind of rebukes)\* but I love you never the worse, as the bishopric I give you will convince you."

\* Henry had another practice, which he called 'whetting': this was scolding with pen, ink, and paper, and when some of Gardiner's friends saw letters addressed to him of this description, they concluded he was a ruined man; but he, who knew the King's temper, was in no pain upon that account: to use his own words, "he folded it up in the matter, and bore it patiently." He has himself related an incident indeed, which happening while he was yet but imperfectly acquainted with his royal master, caused him great annoyance. Having been joined in commission with the Earl of Wiltshire upon some affair, which had not been managed to his Majesty's satisfaction, he owns that 'he was quite confounded by the coarse and violent reprimand, which he received in his colleague's presence.' Before they separated however, Henry took him aside, and told him that, 'though he could not take such a liberty with the Earl, he was quite as angry with the one as the other.'

When Wolsey, in consequence of the loss of his capricious Sovereign's favour, was falling from his high station, he is said to have had recourse to the mediation of his old servant Gardiner: but, though great pains have been used to prove that the Secretary was not ungrateful, it may still reasonably be doubted, whether his exertions upon the occasion were either very active, or very sincere. The earnest, humble, and even mean terms, in which the disgraced Cardinal entreated his inter-

In 1533, the new Prelate sat with Dr. Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, when he declared the marriage of Katharine with the King null and void. During the same year, he was sent to Marseilles, that he might watch over the interview between the French King and the Pope; and Bonner, who had been despatched after him with the appeal of Henry and Cranmer to the next General Council lawfully assembled, complained bitterly (we find, in a letter to Cromwell) of his haughty and stubborn temper, which as his power increased, broke forth into acts of brutal cruelty.

Upon his return to England he was enjoined, not only with the other Bishops to acknowledge the King as supreme head of the church, but also to defend his supremacy. This defence he published, under the title, *De Verâ Obedientiâ*, 'Of True Obedience.' He never indeed declined vindicating Henry's proceedings in the business of his divorce, his subsequent marriage, or his renunciation of the dominion of the see of Rome: but he was an arch-dissembler; as he was, all the while, strongly attached to every superstition of the Romish church.

In 1535, when Cranmer, who had begun a provincial visitation, sent a monition to him, acquainting him that he should inspect the diocese of Winchester, he left no artifice unattempted to evade the threatened

cession, and his continually plying him through 'his trusty friend' Cromwell with letters, must be allowed to place Gardiner's zeal in at least a problematical light. Wolsey's temporary reprieve may, indeed, more probably be referred to some compunction or compassion influencing the King's breast in behalf of his old favourite, than to any very warm solicitations of his new one.

scrutiny : and, in the following year, he opposed with no less earnestness the Metropolitan's petition to the King for a new translation of the Bible, as well as Cromwell's design of forming a religious league with the princes of Germany.\*

In 1538, he was sent ambassador with Sir Henry Knevet to the German Diet, where he is allowed to have acquitted himself admirably, in regard to his commission ; but he was suspected of holding a secret correspondence with the Roman Pontiff, in order to re-introduce the papal authority into his native country. This suspicion was farther confirmed when, upon his return, he advised the King to exert himself zealously in the prosecution of the " Sacramentarians," or heretics denying the real presence : in consequence of which, one John Lambert, a school-master (according to Burnet, " a learned and good man ") charged with having committed to writing his arguments against transubstantiation, was accused before Cranmer and Latimer. By these prelates, however, he would have been screened from prosecution, had he not unfortunately appealed to the King. Gardiner, improving the opportunity, prevailed upon Henry to try him in person. Upon this occasion the royal judge first, and after him Cranmer, attempted to prove the doctrine of the Real Presence from Scripture. The Primate was followed by Gardiner, and eight other bishops ; and the poor victim, overawed and exhausted by a disputation of five hours, was soon afterward

\* About this time, likewise, he went on a second embassy to France, and procured the banishment of Reginald Pole, Dean of Exeter, from that kingdom.

burnt in Smithfield with circumstances of uncommon barbarity.

In 1539, Gardiner gave a fresh instance of his persecuting spirit; by advocating the act of the Six Articles, commonly called the ‘Bloody Statute,’ when it was before the House of Lords. His subsequent conduct, indeed, leaves but little doubt of the truth of the accusation, brought against him by writers of the first authority, that he framed all those articles himself; and he certainly was extremely earnest in their support in the Upper House, where they were vigorously opposed by Cranmer and Cromwell. To him, also, the death of Dr. Robert Barnes, who with two others was burnt shortly afterward,\* is with reason attributed: as he was first imprisoned on account of a sermon, in which he had arraigned the conduct of this sanguinary Prelate.

Upon the disgrace of Cromwell, Gardiner was elected Chancellor of Cambridge. In this high situation, he gave a melancholy proof of his bigoted attachment to existing customs: for upon Cheke’s attempting to introduce his improved pronunciation of Greek into that university, he immediately by a dictatorial edict prohibited the ‘innovation,’ as he termed it, under the severest penalties.† In vain Cheke al-

\* Three papists were at the same time hanged, drawn, and quartered for denying the King’s supremacy. Upon which a Frenchman remarked, ‘that they had a strange way of managing matters in England; for those who were for the Pope were hanged, and those who were against him were burnt!’

† How far the pronunciation in question had been vitiated, may be inferred from a passage in the Chancellor’s Mandate: *As et s, æ et u, ab i sono ne distinguito: tantum in orthographiâ sonum servato. H, r, v, uno eodemque sono exprimito.* The learned, he added, were more likely to corrupt the sound of letters, than

leged the authority of Erasmus, and other learned foreigners, and observed that 'he was merely solicitous to vindicate the truth.' His powerful opponent exclaimed,

— *Quid non mortalia pectora cogit  
Veri quærendi fames? \**

and enjoined him not to be the cause of removing 'an evil well-placed.' Truth, however, at length prevailed over official tyranny, and the new method was gradually received in the Universities and throughout the kingdom.

His next step was to decry the new translation of the Bible, which had been published by Cromwell's authority in 1536, and was brought before the convocation to be examined soon after his death. Gardiner condemned it as defective, and meanly quibbled upon many Latin words in the New Testament,† which as he pretended, could not be translated with proper dignity, and must therefore be continued in Latin.‡ Thus the delay of the royal sanction was obtained, and Cranmer was obliged to move the King to have the perusal of it referred to the two Universities.

In 1543, Gardiner was one of the Commissioners

the unlearned; being wont to have so much regard to euphony, or the gracefulness of the sound of words. Cheke had objected that, upon the old system, 'there was no difference between Pestilence and Famine' (Λαιμός and Λίμος). But it was change of any kind, that Gardiner regarded as dangerous; and he rejoined with warmth, *Utere moribus antiquis, verbis verò præsentibus, et multò magis sonis.*

\* 'What does not the appetite of discovering truth impel the human breast to dare?'

† In the Vulgate Version.

‡ Two of the words, indiscriminately taken, will convince the reader of the poverty of this artifice: *Penitentia, Adorare.*



appointed to negotiate a peace with Scotland, and also a treaty of marriage between the young Queen of Scotland and Edward Prince of Wales. But these affairs of state did not divert his attention from his two favourite points; the persecuting of those whom he called 'Heretics,' and preventing the progress of what was stiled 'the New Learning,' which consisted chiefly in acquiring such a skill in the Greek language as enabled men to read the primitive Fathers, and thus to discover the innovations of the Romish church. Accordingly, this year he lodged an information against some Protestants at Windsor, and moved the King in council to grant a commission to search suspected houses for heretical books; in consequence of which, four persons were apprehended, three of whom were subsequently condemned and burnt.

After his infamous attempt however to ruin Archbishop Cranmer,\* which took place about this time, Henry began to conceive a bad opinion of him; and a circumstance speedily occurred, which proved that in his heart he wished for the restoration of the Pope's authority. In 1544 German Gardiner, his relation, chief confidant, and private secretary, was tried, condemned, and executed, for having denied the King's supremacy. His Majesty naturally concluding upon this occasion, that Gardiner himself must secretly harbour the same sentiments, had determined to send him to the Tower; but the Bishop apprised of his design, and knowing that he loved sincerity, went to him, and upon his knees craved his pardon, promising for the future to be a new man.

\* For the particulars, see that prelate's Life in this Volume.

He succeeded in his application; and in 1545 was despatched to Flanders on an embassy to the Emperor, to arrange a league between Charles, Francis I., and Henry. This opportunity Cranmer was anxious to improve, by persuading the King to abolish some of the most ridiculous ceremonies of the existing worship; but Gardiner having received intelligence of the project, assured his Sovereign, that he should certainly fail in his negotiation, if any innovations were suffered in the English church. Upon his return in 1546 the persecution, which had abated during his absence, was renewed with additional cruelty. His associate in this bloody bigotry was the Chancellor Wriothesley, who when the Lieutenant of the Tower refused to torture a lady\* any longer, had the brutal inhumanity to throw off his gown, and draw the rack himself, till he left her almost lifeless.

But Gardiner, with higher ambition, aimed at no less than a royal victim, Queen Katharine Parr. This lady favoured Cranmer, and the friends of the Reformation, which rendered her extremely obnoxious to the Popish party. And, in the last year of Henry's life, they had nearly accomplished her destruction: for after an argument pertinaciously held by her in favour of the new opinions, Henry in the presence of Gardiner exclaimed with warmth; "A good hearing it is, when women become such clerks, and a thing much to my comfort, to come in mine old age

\* As this courageous woman, whose name was Ayscough, refused to criminate the Duchess of Suffolk, and other ladies of the court, she expiated soon afterward for her own 'heretical' opinions in the flames.

to be taught by my wife!" The Bishop, with equal subtilty and malice aggravating her offence, insinuated, that 'he and his friends could make great discoveries against her Majesty, if they were not held in awe by her faction.' By such arts he prevailed upon the King to sign an order for her arrest; but the Chancellor, to whom it was entrusted, happening to drop it out of his bosom, it was immediately carried to the Queen; who so wrought upon her husband's affections, as not only to dispel his suspicions, but also to excite in his breast a resentment against Gardiner, which he never afterward laid aside.

Gardiner, however, still continued about the court; and though upon Henry's death he had the mortification to find himself excluded from the regency,\* he ceased not to importune the Protector by letters, dissuading him from making any alterations in religion during the minority. But Somerset and Cranmer had now begun to take measures for completing the Reformation: among others, a royal visitation was set on foot, and the Homilies were appointed to be read in all churches. At the same time, Erasmus' paraphrase of the New Testament was translated into English, and a copy ordered to be kept in every parish. Gardiner's opposition to these proceedings was so strenuous, that he was cited to appear before the Council in September 1547, where he was accused of having written letters to that board, and of

\* Henry, on being reminded by Sir Antony Browne (a great friend of the Bishop) of this omission, replied; "Hold your peace: I remembered him well enough, and of good purpose have I left him out. For surely, if he were in my testament, and one of you, he would cumber you all; and you should never rule him, he is of so troublesome a nature."

having uttered many things in contempt of the existing visitation; in confirmation of which, he then refused to receive the Homilies, or to pay any obedience to the King's visitors in his diocese. Upon this, he was committed a close prisoner to the Fleet, where he was undoubtedly treated with improper severity.\* He was released however in December, at the end of the sessions of parliament, and immediately repaired to his diocese.

Here he opposed, to the utmost of his power, the preachers sent down by the Council to inculcate the principles of the Reformation: in some places ordering the rectors to deny them the use of their pulpits; in others, ascending himself before them, and warning the congregations to beware of their doctrines. Complaints being transmitted to court of his conduct, he was in 1548 again brought before the Council; and after receiving a reprimand, confined to his own house till he had given satisfaction, by delivering before his Majesty a discourse, with respect to the matter of which he was to be directed by Sir William Cecil. But in the execution of this injunction far from giving the satisfaction required, while he acknowledged the King's supremacy, he denied that of the regency, and spoke contemptuously of the Council: upon which he was sent to the Tower the next day, and continued a prisoner for the remainder of the reign of Edward VI.†

\* His imprisonment, indeed, was itself illegal, as he had not been judicially convicted of any crime.

† When the Protector's disgrace was projected, his enemies thought that they could not employ a more skilful person than Gardiner to draw up the articles of impeachment against him: and having performed this service, he naturally expected his release from the new Council; but he was disappointed.

The conferences which he held with the Lords of the Council, and their treatment of him during his confinement, are variously represented by the Popish and Protestant writers. It is certain, however, that he once actually signed his approbation of all the measures, which had been taken toward a Reformation: notwithstanding which, the Popish writers boast his invariable attachment to the old faith!—But this was not the first, or the only, instance of his duplicity.

In 1551, after twenty-two sittings of a court of delegates over which Cranmer presided, he was deprived of his bishopric, for disobedience and contempt of the royal authority. From this time he employed himself in composing Latin poems, translating into English verse the poetical parts of the Old Testament, and drawing up some polemical tracts. He likewise consoled himself with the idea, which he frequently expressed; that ‘he should live to see another change of fortune, and another court, where he should be as great as ever.’

This anticipation, which will not be thought to partake much of the spirit of prophecy, when the political situation of affairs during Edward’s illness is duly considered, was but too well founded: for Queen Mary, on the third of August 1553, making her solemn entry into the Tower, Gardiner in the name of himself and his fellow-prisoners (the Duke of Norfolk, the Duchess of Somerset, Lord Courtenay, and others of high rank) addressed a congratulatory speech to her Majesty, who gave them all their liberties, and (as Lloyd affirms) kissed Gardiner, calling him ‘her prisoner.’\* On the eighth of the same

\* A prisoner for her cause.

month he performed, in her presence, the Romish obsequies for the deceased King, whose body had been buried in Westminster with the English service by Archbishop Cranmer, the funeral sermon being preached by Bishop Day. On the ninth, he returned to Winchester House in Southwark, after a confinement of somewhat more than five years. On the twenty-third, he was declared Chancellor of England, and was entrusted with the chief management of public affairs. In this capacity he advised the issuing of a proclamation prohibiting all preaching throughout the kingdom, except by royal licence under the great seal. In many places the Popish party set up images, and introduced the Latin service with the old rites, though the laws of King Edward were yet unrepealed; and Sir James Hale, a judge, was harassed by the Council with imprisonment and other severe usage, for having directed the justices, when on a circuit in Kent, to carry those laws into execution.

On the first of October, Gardiner crowned the new Sovereign, and on the fifth of the same month opened her first parliament. He was also re-chosen Chancellor of Cambridge, and restored to the mastership of Trinity Hall.

We shall now be able to trace his true character, by observing his conduct in the different capacities of a civilian, a prime minister, and an ecclesiastical inquisitor. By some writers it has been asserted, that 'he always acted upon principle, and if he erred, that he did it conscientiously.' But Burnet more probably imputes the frequent changes in his political conduct, and his extreme cruelty, to his abject and servile spirit. The reader will judge from the fol-

lowing facts. The promoting of the royal divorce was the first service, which he rendered to the father; and the reversing of it, and branding all those who had been concerned in it, was the first office which he performed for the daughter. He had, also, eminently defended the King's supremacy; and he had the credit of having penned the publications in vindication of Henry's marriage with Anne Boleyn, which he now condemned as null and illegal. These circumstances do not speak highly in favour of his integrity, as a civilian and a canonist.

Mary on her accession had publicly declared, that 'she would force no man's conscience on account of religion.' The Chancellor, even when a layman, is stiled 'the keeper of the Sovereign's conscience;' but Gardiner, though a priest, a chancellor, and a prime minister, advised her Majesty, as soon as he had the management of public affairs, to violate her promise. Before the end of the year, all the laws concerning religion, which had been passed in the reign of Edward VI., were repealed; and it was enacted, that there should be no other form of divine service, but that which had been used in the last year of Henry VIII. The convocation was assembled; and the clergy who were in the Reformed interest were threatened, insulted, and interrupted in their arguments by Dr. Weston the prolocutor, who sarcastically observed, "You have the word, but we have the sword." The tenet of transubstantiation was restored. Soon afterward several Protestant prelates were deprived, and the commissions for this purpose were directed to Gardiner, Bonner, and others. Such proceedings threatening a severe persecution, above eight hundred subjects fled the king-

dom.\* Their escape was most timely; for in the beginning of 1554 the Marshalsea in London, and the prisons in other parts of the kingdom, were filled with 'heretics.' During these commencements of cruelty, ambassadors arrived from the emperor Charles V., who was likewise king of Spain, to negotiate a treaty of marriage between his son Philip and the new Queen.† This measure, obnoxious to the whole nation, but more particularly to the friends of the Reformation, who dreaded Spanish despotism and the inquisition, gave rise to the rebellion under Sir Thomas Wyatt; in which the Duke of Suffolk, though a prisoner in the Tower, was concerned. The insurrection was speedily quelled; but the amiable Lady Jane Grey, the most learned and accomplished woman of her age, whom it was thought the Queen would otherwise have pardoned, with her husband and her father, was beheaded in consequence, and the Princess Elizabeth was committed to the Tower. It is even asserted by some writers, that Gardiner ad-

\* Concerning these exiles, Gardiner (as Lloyd informs us) threatened, that "he would watch their supplies, so that they should eat their nails, and then feed on their fingers' ends."

† This is deemed the master-stroke in Gardiner's policy, as it placed an effectual obstacle in the way of Philip's ambitious designs. Philip indeed intended, by this very measure, to have rendered himself master of the kingdom; and, when his queen was supposed to be far advanced in her pregnancy, applied twice to parliament to be constituted Regent during the infant's minority: offering to give ample security to surrender the regency, whenever that infant should be of age to govern. The motion was warmly debated in the House of Peers, and he was like to carry his point; when Lord Paget stood up, and said, "Pray who shall sue the King's bond?" This laconic speech had its intended effect, and the debate was quickly concluded in the negative. (See Howell's *Letters*.)



vised putting her to death, saying 'it was in vain to lop off the branches, if they did not destroy the root, the hope of the heretics;' but his infamous suggestion was over-ruled by the rest of the Council.

A new parliament being called, and dexterous use having been made of 500,000*l.* sent over by the Emperor during the elections, the marriage-treaty was approved and ratified by both Houses, and the nuptials were accordingly solemnised at Winchester by Gardiner; Philip being in the twenty-seventh year of his age, and Mary in her thirty-ninth. In a subsequent parliament, beside the transactions relative to Cardinal Pole, through whose legatine power the people of England were once more received into the bosom of the Catholic church, a bill passed for reviving the old statutes against heretics, made in the reigns of Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry V.; upon which Gardiner taking to his assistance another evil spirit worse than himself, Bonner bishop of London,\* under the hands of these bloody inquisitors the flames of persecution blazed forth with redoubled fury in all parts of the kingdom.

Their first victim, John Rogers prebendary of St. Paul's, was burnt in Smithfield in January 1555. With such severity was this unfortunate man treated,

\* "Bonner (says Gilpin, in his Life of Latimer) was little more than an agent in the hands of Gardiner, who on many occasions chose rather to sit concealed, and to work mischief by proxy. It suited the darkness of his disposition, and he found in Bonner an instrument entirely adapted to his purpose; open ears, an impetuous temper, raging zeal, a hardened heart, and an obstinate perseverance: so that Gardiner had only to wind him up occasionally, and give him a proper direction; and the zealot moved with the regularity of a machine, and with what impetuosity his director impressed."

that even his wife was not permitted to visit him during his imprisonment, because he was a priest, and the marriages of the clergy had been now declared illegal.'

At the same time Hooper,† bishop of Gloucester, was re-examined. On his refusing to recant, he had been removed to Newgate from the Fleet; and there

† This eminent prelate was a native of Somersetshire, born in 1495, and educated at Merton College, Oxford. Soon after the statute of the Six Articles was enforced, he quitted the University, and lived some time with Sir Thomas Arundel, as his chaplain and steward. Sir Thomas, however, discovering that he was a protestant, he fled to France; but, disliking the conduct of the Reformed in that kingdom, he returned home. After this, finding the persecution upon the Articles still continued, he disguised himself in the habit of a sailor, and reached Switzerland in safety, where he was kindly received by Bullinger. Upon the accession of Edward VI. he came back to England, and was appointed chaplain to the Protector; and in 1549 he became the chief accuser of Bonner, who was then deprived, and who never forgave him. In 1550, he was made Bishop of Worcester; but as he declined wearing the usual vestments, the rochette and chimere (which he deemed profaned by superstition and idolatry), Cranmer refused to consecrate him, and he was sent to the Fleet for contumacy. The following year, however, the affair was compromised, and he was permitted to hold the bishopric of Worcester in commendam with that of Gloucester.

By Peter Martyr and other foreign divines, to whom the matter was referred, it was determined that he should be consecrated in the contested robes, and should wear them afterward only in his cathedral. This was the æra of controversies about caps, and gowns, and other clerical habits.

As soon as Mary was seated on the throne, he was summoned to answer to the complaints exhibited against him by Heath the deprived bishop of Worcester, and Bonner, who pretended that he had falsely accused him in the preceding reign. But when he reached London, these charges were dropped; and he was proceeded against as 'a heretic' by his avowed enemies, Gardiner and Bonner, two of the Commissioners appointed to deprive the prelates, and ordered to be confined in the Fleet.

he was visited by Bonner and his chaplains, who vainly offered him riches and honours if he would apostatise to the Romish religion, and afterward reported that 'he had accepted their terms;' in contradiction to which he assured his friends and the public by letter, that 'he was more than ever confirmed in the Protestant faith.' This highly exasperating the two Bishops, Bonner was sent to degrade him in Newgate, not as a Bishop (for as a Bishop they did not acknowledge him) but as a priest: and on the ninth of February, 1555, he was burnt at Gloucester in a most inhuman manner.\*

Gardiner had now brought three of the most eminent Fathers of the Reformed religion to the stake, but Cranmer was still reserved to answer his particular views. Cardinal Pole, he expected, would succeed to the primacy, if Cranmer were taken off at this time; and the death of Marcellus II. being daily expected, he determined to use his utmost exertions to obtain the papacy for that prelate, in which case he should have no rival for the see of Canterbury. But though the Pope died, while Gardiner was holding a congress at Calais for a treaty of peace between France and Spain, in which commission the Earl of Arundel and Lord Paget were joined, their united interests could not prevent the conclave from choosing Paul IV.

Gardiner, before he proceeded upon this embassy,

\* The fire was composed of green wood, so that he was made to suffer dreadful torments, which he endured however with great fortitude, for above three quarters of an hour. Both his legs were burnt off, before the flame reached his vitals. A pardon, on condition of recantation, was fruitlessly placed on a stool near the stake before this eloquent and inflexible old man.

had left the persecution of the Protestants chiefly to Bonner, and upon his return to England he appeared less sanguinary than before. From the new Pope however, with whom he held a secret correspondence, he received the promise of a cardinal's hat and the legatine power, as soon as Pole could be properly recalled after his recent services in reconciling England to the see of Rome.

But death put a stop to his ambitious projects, on the thirteenth of November of this same year. He died, it is said, in extreme agony, from a suppression of urine; but various reports were propagated respecting both the cause, and the manner, of his death. He was certainly indisposed from the twenty-third of October, the last day of his appearance in parliament, and during his illness felt great remorse for his past life; frequently exclaiming, *Erravi cum Petro, sed non flevi cum Petro*: "I have sinned with Peter, but I have not wept with Peter." He died at the palace at Whitehall, whence his remains were removed to Winchester House in Southwark, and there interred with extraordinary magnificence.

His character may be summed up in a few words. That he was a professed courtier, who could accommodate his conscience to the complexion of the times, the part he acted against the papal supremacy under Henry VIII., and the concessions which he offered to make in the following reign, compared with his subsequent conduct under Mary, afford abundant evidence. They also show, that he had no fixed principles of religion; and that his persecuting spirit, instead of originating in a misguided conscience, ought rather to be attributed to false and narrow views of policy, and to a malignant nature. When he

pleased, he could assume a winning address, and display no inconsiderable degree of eloquence: but at other times, particularly in trying heretics, he frequently descended to the grossest scurrility; most unworthy, indeed, of the character both of the gentleman and the scholar, but still more of those of the Christian and the bishop.

He was a learned man; but instead of being a friend to learned men, as many writers have asserted, if they differed from him in opinion,\* he put them to death. He was author of the treatise '*De verâ Obedientiâ*,' as above-mentioned, and also of the '*Palinodia Dicti Libri*,' or a retractation of it; '*An Explication and Assertion of the true Catholic Faith, touching the most blessed Sacrament of the Altar*,' &c. against Cranmer, printed abroad in 1551; '*Confutatio Cavillationum*,' &c. drawn up in the Tower, in answer to the Archbishop's reply; and different defences of himself against several of the Protestant exiles. Several of his Letters to the Protector, and others, are extant in the first edition of '*Fox's Acts and Monuments*;' and some addressed to Cheke† and Smith, upon the pronunciation of the Greek language, are preserved in the library of Bene't College, Cambridge.

\* Two exceptions indeed occur, in the instance of Sir Thomas Smith (who had been Secretary to Edward VI.) and Roger Ascham, both protestants: of whom he suffered the former to live unmolested, granting him a pension of one hundred pounds a-year for his better support; and the latter he caused to be appointed Latin Secretary to Queen Mary, notwithstanding the remonstrances of many furious Papists.

† Of these Letters copious extracts are given in the specimens attached to the Life of Sir John Cheke.

His person appears to have been very far from agreeable. In a description of him, written by Dr. Poynt, who succeeded him in the see of Winchester, occurs the following passage: "This doctor hath a swart colour, hanging look, frowning brows, eyes an inch within his head, a nose hooked like a buzzard, nostrils like a horse, ever snuffing in the wind, a sparrow mouth, great paws," &c. As Poynt, however, bore a great dislike to his predecessor, this portrait may justly be supposed to be caricatured by personal ill-will.

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From a Letter addressed by Gardiner to Bishop Ridley in the beginning of Edward VI.'s reign (in consequence of a sermon preached before the court, in which that prelate had censured the use of Images and Holy Water), the following passages are extracted: The letter itself is preserved in Fox's 'Acts and Monuments.'

'Master Ridley, after right hearty commendations, it chanced me upon Wednesday last past to be present at your sermon in the court, wherein I heard you confirm the doctrine in religion, set forth by our late sovereign lord and master (whose soul God pardon!) admonishing your audience, that ye would specially travail in the confutation of the bishop of Rome's pretended authority in government and usurped power, and in pardons, whereby he hath abused himself in heaven and earth. Which two matters I note to be plain, and hear without controversy. In the other two, ye spake touching Images and ceremonies: and as ye touched it, specially for Holy Water to drive away devils, for that you

declared yourself always desirous to set forth the mere truth, with great desire of unity as ye professed, not extending any your asseveration beyond your knowledge; but always adding such like words, ‘as far as ye had read,’ and ‘if any man could show you farther, ye would hear him;’ wherein you were much to be commended.—Upon these considerations, and for the desire I have to unity, I have thought myself bound to communicate to you that which I have read, in the matter of Images and Holy Water; to the extent you may by yourself consider it, and so weigh, before that ye will speak in those two points, as ye may (retaining your own principles) affirm still that ye would affirm, and may indeed be affirmed and maintained, wherein I have seen other forget themselves. First, I send unto you herewith (which I am sure ye have read) that Eusebius writeth of Images, whereby appeareth, that Images have been of great antiquity in Christ’s church. And to say we may have Images, or to call on them when they represent Christ or his saints, be over-gross opinions to enter into your learned head, whatsoever the unlearned would tattle. For you know the text of the old law, *non facies tibi sculptile*, forbiddeth no more Images now, than another text forbiddeth to us puddings. And if *omnia* be *munda mundis* to the belly, there can be no cause why they should be to themselves *impura* to the eye, wherein ye can say much more. And then when ye have Images, to call them ‘idols,’ is a like fault in fond folly, as if a man would say, (*regem*) a tyrant, and then bring in old writers to prove, that *tyrannus* signified once a king; like as *idolum* signified once an Image. But like as *tyrannus* was, by consent of men, appropriate to signify an

usurper of that dignity, and an untrue king; so hath *idolum* been likewise appropriate to signify a false representation and a false image: insomuch as there was a solemn anathematisation of all those, that would call an Image an 'idol;' as he were worthy to be hanged, that would call the king our master (God save him) our true just king, a tyrant; and yet in talk he might show, that a tyrant signified sometime a king. But speech is regarded in his present signification, which I doubt not ye can consider right well.

' I verily think that for the having of Images, ye will say enough; and that also, when we have them, we should not despise them in speech, to call them 'idols,' nor despise them with deeds, to mangle them or cut them, but at least suffer them to stand untorn. Wherein Luther, that pulled away all other regard to them, strove stoutly and obtained (as I have seen in divers of the churches in Germany of his reformation) that they should, as they do, stand still.

' All the matter to be feared is, excess in worshipping, wherein the church of Rome hath been very precise; and specially Gregory, writing *Episcopo Massiliens.*; which is contained, *de Consecrat.* (Distinct. 3.) as followeth:

' *Perlatum ad nos fuerat, quod inconsiderato zelo succensus sanctorum Imagines, sub hac quaque excusatione ne adorari debuissent, confregeris; et quidem eas adorare vetuisse omninò laudamus, fre-gisse verò reprehendimus. Dic, frater, à quo factum esse sacerdote aliquando auditum est, quod fecisti? Aliud est enim picturam adorare, aliud per picturam historiam, quid sit adorandum, addiscere. Nam quod legentibus scriptura, hoc et idiotis præstat pictura cernentibus, quia in ipsâ ignorantes*



*vident quid sequi debeant, in ipsâ legunt qui literas nesciunt. Nudè et præcipuè gentibus pro lectione pictura est.* Herein is forbidden adoration, and then in *Sexto Synodo* was declared what manner of adoration is forbidden; that is to say, godly adoration to it, being a creature, as is contained in the chapter, *Venerabiles Imagines*, in the same Distinction, in this wise:

*‘ Venerabiles Imagines Christiani, non deos, appellant; neque serviunt eis ut Diis, neque spem salutis ponunt in eis, neque ab eis expectant futurum iudicium: sed ad memoriam et recordationem primitivorum venerantur eas et adorant, sed non serviunt eis cultu divino, nec alicui creaturæ.*

‘ By which doctrine, all idolatry is plainly excluded in evident words. So as we cannot say that the worshipping of Images had it's beginning by Popery: for Gregory forbade it, unless we shall call that synod Popery, because there were so many bishops. And there is forbidden *cultus divinus*, and agreeth with our aforesaid doctrine, by which we may creep before the cross on Good-Friday; wherein we have the image of the crucifix in honour, and use it in a worshipful place, and so earnestly look on it, and conceive that it signifieth, as we kneel and creep before it, while it lieth there, and whilst that remembrance is in exercise: with which cross nevertheless, the sexton when he goeth for a corse, will not be afraid to be homely, and hold it under his gown, while he drinketh a pot of ale; a point of homeliness that might be left, but yet declareth that he esteemeth no divinity in the Image. But ever since I was born, a poor parishioner, a layman, durst be so bold at a shift (if he were, also, churchwarden) to sell to the use

of the church at length, and his own in the mean time, the silver cross on Easter-Monday, that was crept unto on Good-Friday. In specialties, there have been special abuses ; but generally, Images have been taken for images, with an office to signify an holy remembrance of Christ and his saints. And as the sound of speech uttered by a lively image, and representing to the understanding by the sense of hearing godly matter, doth stir up the mind, and therewith the body, to consent in outward gesture of worshipful regard to that sound ; so doth the object of the Image by the sight work like effect in man, within and without, wherein is verily worshipped that we understand : and yet reverence and worship also showed to that, whereby we attain that understanding, and is to us in the place of an instrument ; so as, it hath no worship of itself, but remaineth in it's nature of stone or timber, silver, copper, or gold.

‘ Now will I speak somewhat of Holy Water, wherein I send unto you the four and thirtieth chapter in the ninth book of the history ‘ Tripartite,’ where Marcellus the bishop bade Equitius his deacon to cast abroad water, by him first hallowed wherewith to drive away the devil. And it is noted, how the devil could not abide the virtue of the water, but vanished away. And, for my part, it seemeth the history may be true : for we be assured by Scripture, that in the name of God, the church is able and strong to cast out devils, according to the gospel, *in nomine meo dæmonia ejiciuntur*, &c. So as, if the water were away, by only calling on the name of God that mastery may be wrought. And the virtue of the effect being only attributed to the name of God, the question should be only, whether the creature of water

may have the office to convey the effect of the holiness of the invocation of God's name.

\* \* \* \* \*

‘ Albeit there hath been between you and me no familiarity, but contrariwise, a little disagreement (which I did not hide from you), yet considering the fervent zeal ye professed to teach Peter's true doctrine, that is to say Christ's true doctrine, whereunto ye thought the doctrine of Images and Holy Water to put away devils agreed not, I have willingly spent this time to communicate unto you my folly (if it be folly) plainly as it is; whereupon ye may have occasion the more substantially, fully, and plainly to open these matters for the relief of such as be fallen from the truth, and confirmation of those that receive and follow it: wherein it hath been ever much commended, to have such regard to histories of credit, and the continual use of the church, rather to show how a thing continued from the beginning, as Holy Water and Images have done, may be well used, than to follow the light rash eloquence, which is ever *ad manum*, to mock and improve that is established, &c. &c.

‘ Your loving friend,

‘ STEPHEN WINCHESTER.’

**THOMAS CRANMER,**  
**ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.\***

[1498—1556.]

**T**HIS eminent prelate, the son of Thomas Cranmer, Esq. was born at Aslacton in Nottinghamshire, in 1489. In 1503 he was admitted of Jesus College, Cambridge, where he highly distinguished himself by his unwearied application to his studies. He had been some time fellow of that society, when he married; but, his wife dying within the year, he was re-admitted to his fellowship.

When Wolsey established his new college at Oxford, Cranmer was offered a fellowship on that foundation, which however he thought proper to decline. In 1523 he commenced D. D., and became reader of the divinity-lecture in his own college.

He had now acquired so much reputation in the University, that he was appointed one of the examiners of those, who commenced bachelors and doctors in divinity. In this office, he rendered great service to the cause of religion; for he examined candi-

\* **AUTHORITIES.** *Strype's Memorials of Cranmer*; *Gilpin's Life of Cranmer*; *Burnet's History of the Reformation*; and *Fox's Acts and Monuments*, &c.

dates out of the Scriptures, and would by no means suffer them to pass, if he found them unacquainted with the sacred writings. Of this species of learning the friars, in general, were extremely ignorant; being much better versed in Scotus and Aquinas, than in the Bible. This class of applicants, therefore, Cranmer occasionally rejected as insufficient, advising them to study the Scriptures some years longer, before they applied for their degrees; as 'it was a shame (he added) for a professor in divinity to be unskilled in that book, in which the knowledge of God and the true principles of theology were chiefly to be found.' In consequence of this behaviour, he was greatly disliked by the members of that community. Some of the more ingenuous of them, however, subsequently returned him public thanks for his severity; acknowledging, that 'they had in consequence, by a closer study of the divine word, attained to a more perfect knowledge in religion, than they should otherwise have done.'

During his residence at Cambridge, the question arose concerning Henry VIII.'s divorce; and the plague breaking out in the University about this time, he retired to the house of a friend (Mr. Cressey) at Waltham Abbey; where casually meeting with Gardiner and Fox, the King's Secretary and his Almoner, he freely delivered his opinion, 'That it would be much better to have the question, "Whether a man could lawfully marry his brother's wife?" discussed and determined upon the authority of God's word, than from year to year to protract the decision by having recourse to the Pope: that there was but one truth in it, which the Scripture would soon manifest, being handled by learned men; and that might be done as well at the Universities in

England, as at Rome or elsewhere.' This declaration being communicated to the King so highly pleased him, that he directly exclaimed, 'The man had the sow by the right ear,' and gave orders that he should instantly be summoned to court.

Upon his arrival in 1529 he was appointed chaplain to his Majesty, and Sir Thomas Boleyn (father of Anne Boleyn) was desired to receive him into his family, and to furnish him with such books as he should require, to enable him to draw up a defence of the opinion which he had given respecting the divorce. In this treatise, he showed by the united testimonies of the Scriptures, of General Councils, and of ancient writers, that the Bishop of Rome had no authority to dispense with God's word; and thence he proved the illegality of the King's marriage with Katharine of Arragon, his brother Arthur's widow. When he had finished his tract, he was sent to Cambridge to dispute publicly upon the subject, accompanied by Gardiner, Fox, and other learned men; and having speedily brought over a number of divines and civilians to his opinion, upon his return he was rewarded with a benefice and the archdeaconry of Taunton.

The following year the King despatched him to France, Italy, and Germany, upon a similar errand; Sir Thomas Boleyn, now Earl of Wiltshire, being appointed ambassador upon the occasion, and furnished with credentials for the purpose. In France, they met with numerous supporters. At Rome, Cranmer's treatise was delivered to the Pope, and he offered to justify it at a public disputation; but no open adversary appearing, after several private conferences with the chief Romanists, it was ad-

mitted in the Pope's chief court of the Rota, that the marriage was unlawful; though it was still contended, that 'his Holiness had authority to dispense with the scripture-law.' That the Pontiff, indeed, was not at that time willing to be considered as decisively hostile to the views of the English Sovereign, may be inferred from his constituting Cranmer his penitentiary throughout England, Ireland, and Wales.

In consequence of these successes, the Earl of Wiltshire transmitted such encomiums of his learned colleague, that the King appointed him his sole ambassador upon the same cause to the Emperor's court. This gave him an opportunity of traversing Germany; and as the imperial party was at that time in constant motion, by following it he became acquainted with the most eminent German divines and civilians, many of whom embraced his opinion with respect to the marriage. Among others, the celebrated Osian-der, pastor of Nuremberg, publicly defended it; and an intimacy between him and the English envoy ensued, which was still farther confirmed by Cranmer's marriage with his niece.

While he remained in Germany, the King employed him in other negotiations, particularly in establishing a treaty of commerce between England and the Emperor's dominions in the Low Countries. He went, also, upon a special mission to the Duke of Saxony and other Protestant princes.

On the death of Archbishop Warham, the King resolved to place Cranmer in the see of Canterbury; and though he assigned as his sole reason for this extraordinary promotion, that he judged him the fittest person among the English clergy for so distinguished a station, there can be no doubt that his

principal object was, to give a sanction to his recorded opinion concerning the divorce, upon which he could then pass a decisive sentence, as under his Majesty the head of the church. With this view, Cranmer was ordered home; but, on his arrival, he entreated permission to decline the high honour intended for him. Henry however insisting upon his compliance, Cranmer now suggested a new opinion, which though it at first surprised Henry, eventually served to strengthen his regard. He asserted, that 'the King was the supreme governor of the church of England, as well in ecclesiastical as in temporal concerns; and that, consequently, to him appertained the full right of donation of all benefices and bishoprics, and not to any foreign authority. If therefore he must receive the archbishopric, from himself alone he would receive it, not (as was then the custom) from the Pope, whose authority within the realm of England he totally denied.'

In conformity to this, upon his consecration in March 1533, he made a notarial protest, that 'he did not admit the Pope's authority any farther than it agreed with the express word of God, and that it might be lawful for him at all times to speak against him and to impugn his errors, whenever there should be occasion.' His Holiness however, agreeable to the usual custom, sent over the bulls, then judged necessary to complete the investiture; but Cranmer surrendered them to the King, from whom alone he consented to hold his new dignity. Upon this, the Pontiff threatened him with excommunication. But the thunders of the Vatican were now ceasing to be formidable. Cranmer encountered his menaces with unconcern, and intrepidly appealed to a General Council.



The first service, which he performed for his royal patron, was pronouncing the sentence of his divorce from Queen Katharine.\* This was done on the twenty-third of May. In the same year, on the twenty-eighth of the same month he held a court at

\* An illiberal attack, made upon the new Archbishop by Dr. Milner, in his 'History of Winchester,' ought not to pass unnoticed. "We meet (says he) with the accustomed obsequiousness of Cranmer to the passions of the tyrant, in divorcing him from his second wife (Anne Boleyn) with less ceremony than he used in divorcing him from his first." The historian has forborne to notice Cranmer's generous attempt to save the Queen at the moment, when the phrensy of Henry's rage and jealousy was at it's height. Nay, more, it appears from his old friend Jeremy Collier (Eccl. Hist. II. 116.) whom on this occasion, however, he does not think proper to cite, that though the sentence of divorce was indeed pronounced at Lambeth, Cranmer, whether by chance or choice, was absent.

Ribadeneyra, a well-known Jesuit, published at Lisbon in 1588 a history of the English schism. Of this, of course, the heroine is Queen Mary, who is lavishly praised for her humanity, and with whom the peace and justice and happiness of England are said to have perished. The historian farther unblushingly affirms, 'that Anne Boleyn was Henry's own daughter, that Henry knew her to be so, and that before he married her he had kept her sister as his concubine.' He alleges, also, that 'her nominal father remonstrated with him upon the incest, which she was about to commit.' Ribadeneyra had been in London, and therefore could not possibly believe the falsehoods which he wrote. He tells us, that 'hymns in honour of Elizabeth were substituted in the church-service in place of those to the Virgin, and were actually used by authority in St. Paul's;' that 'Elizabeth made a law, that her natural children should succeed her;' and that 'it was a common practice with her to send Catholic virgins of noble families to the stews, thus condemning them to public prostitution.' These falsehoods, which are as absurd as they are atrocious, are repeated in Pollini's Italian history of the same event; and they are to this day believed, not merely by the vulgar, but by all except the well-informed in all Catholic countries. It is not many years since we

Lambeth, in which he confirmed his Majesty's marriage with Anne Boleyn. And at the close of the year, when the Pope's supremacy came under debate, he answered all the arguments brought in defence of it with such strength and perspicuity, that it was abolished by the authority of parliament, and an act passed establishing the King's headship over the church.

Having succeeded so far, Cranmer now vigorously exerted himself to promote the Reformation, for which purpose he prevailed upon the convocation to petition his Majesty for a translation of the Bible.\* The

purchased for a few maravedis at Madrid the same story, printed like our penny histories of Jack the Giant-killer, and George Buchanan's Jests, for the edification of the lower classes. (*Quart. Rev.* xii. 335.)

Most of these fathers were, probably, invested by the infamous Dr. Sanders. This man asserted, that 'Anne Boleyn had notoriously been the King of France's mistress.' Another writer makes her 'the mistress of Wolsey.' Her errors, venial as they were, were cruelly expiated in this world; but this is the language in which a Catholic poet makes the devil speak of her, whom no Englishman remembers without compassion:

*Hæc dextrâ, hæc miseros nostrorumque artibus Anglos  
 'E cælo everti, fidei te nota Charybdis  
 Bollena obtestor, Furiarum quarta, barathro  
 Quæ solium regina tenes, subterque ministrat  
 Henriquius flammæ; necnon tua promuba quondam  
 Volseus, vitæ partum tibi grande celubris  
 Incensumque rogis sceptrum per tempora quassat  
 Ictibus, inque aures faucesque immittere tentat,  
 Ut tibi regnandi satiatur dira cupido.*

\* "God's will and commandment is (says Cranmer in a letter) that when the people be gathered together, the ministers should use such language as the people may understand, and take profit thereby, or else hold their peace. For as an harp or lute, if it give no certain sound that men may know what is stricken, who can dance after it—for all the sound is in vain? so is it vain and

issue of this application has been mentioned in the Life of Gardiner, where an account is given of that Prelate's opposition to the work. This grand object, although it encountered much hostility, finally received the royal sanction, and proved eminently successful in weaning the nation from its servile dependence upon the Romish church.

The next salutary measure, to which the Archbishop extended his approbation, was the dissolution of the monasteries. He saw how inconsistent those foundations were with that reformation, which he had in view; and he proposed, that out of their revenues the King should found additional bishoprics, in order that, the dioceses being reduced into less compass, the Bishops might be the better enabled to discharge their duty.

He farther advised, that Henry should only receive the revenues of such as were of royal foundation, and that the estates of the rest should be employed in founding hospitals, grammar-schools, and other useful institutions. But the courtiers, who hoped to share the spoils,\* determined by a parliamentary vote

profiteth nothing, sayeth Almighty God by the mouth of St. Paul, if the priest speak to the people in a language which they know not." (*Certain most godly, fruitful, and comfortable Letters of Saints and Holy Martyrs, &c.* 1564. 4to.)

\* When great murmurs ensued upon this strong measure, because of the cessation of monastic distributions of food, &c. Cromwell advised the King to sell their lands, at very easy rates, to the gentry in the several counties; obliging them, since they had them upon such terms, to keep up the wonted hospitality. This drew in the gentry apace." (*Burnet's History of the Reformation.*) As a considerable degree of doubt remained, how religious persons could correctly transfer to his Majesty a property of which they themselves were only tenants for life, an act of

that the revenues of all the monasteries should be appropriated to the Sovereign's use; and, this resolution having passed into a law, Cranmer with some other prelates incurred the King's displeasure. His Majesty, however, subsequently adopted part of the proposed plan, by founding six new bishoprics.

parliament was framed in order to remove those rational scruples, and to "settle rapine and sacrilege (I use the words of Lord Herbert) on the King and his heirs for ever." It does not appear to have been debated in either House, whether they had a power to dispossess some hundred thousand persons of their dwellings and fortunes, whom a few years before they had declared to be good subjects, if such as live well come under that denomination. "Now," says Sir Edward Coke, "observe the conclusion of this tragedy. In that very parliament, when the great and opulent priory of St. John of Jerusalem was given to the King, and which was the last monastery seized on, he demanded a fresh subsidy of the clergy and laity: he did the same again within two years, and again three years after; and since the dissolution exacted great loans, and against law obtained them." (Fourth Instit.)

Even Latimer, enthusiastically anxious as he was, particularly by his sermons, to exasperate every Protestant bosom against the occupiers of monasteries and convents, wished two or three of these foundations might be spared in each diocese for the sake of hospitality. Writing to Lord Cromwell in behalf of the priory of Malvern, he says, "The man (the prior) is old, a good house-keeper, feedeth many, and that daily: for the country is poor, and full of penury." But his hospitality and his infirmities were less likely to conciliate the rapacious mind of Henry, than the "five hundred marks to the King, and two hundred marks more to the Lord Cromwell," which he tendered at the same time. For the credit of Latimer, I hope this ecclesiastic was not at the head of the priory, when the former in a sermon before the King observed; "To let pass the *solempne* and nocturnal bacchanals, the prescript miracles that are done upon certain days in the west part of England, who hath not heard?—I think ye have heard, of St. Blesis' heart, which is at Malvern, and of St. Algar's bones, how long they deluded the people!"

In 1537 the Archbishop, with the joint authority of the Bishops, published a book entitled, 'The Institution of a Christian Man.'\* While the affair of the monasteries was under discussion, he diligently visited the dioceses within his province, and by exertions of every kind endeavoured to promote the purification of the national worship. But Henry, whose chief object in the changes already introduced had been the indulging of his lust or his avarice, began now to entertain a jealousy of farther innovations. This spirit was carefully cherished by the Popish clergy: the interest of Gardiner and his faction increased,† and the King's zeal against

\* This book, being composed by the Bishops, was most commonly called 'The Bishops' Book.' It contains an explanation of the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, and the Sacraments. It may here be added, that the work entitled, 'A necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man,' has been erroneously ascribed to Cranmer. In the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, indeed, is a MS. No. CIV., containing what are there called, 'Annotations upon the King's Book by Archbishop Cranmer.' Where by the King's Book is intended, 'The Erudition of a Christian Man.' For a more particular account of this volume see 'Burnet's History of the Reformation,' I. 286, where it is expressly affirmed, that it was drawn up by a commission from the King confirmed by parliament.

† Of Henry VIII.'s wavering and hesitating conduct at this period, the following account is given by Burnet: "The King seemed to think, that his subjects owed an entire resignation of their reasons and consciences to him; and as he was highly offended with those, who still adhered to the papal authority, so he could not bear the haste that some were making to a farther reformation, before or beyond his allowance. So in the end of the year 1538. he set out a proclamation, in which he prohibits the importing of all foreign books, or the printing of any at home without licence; and the printing of any parts of Scripture

heretics appeared by his pressing the bill containing the Six Bloody Articles. The Archbishop argued against it however for three days so strenuously, that though Henry was obstinate in passing the act, he yet desired a copy of his reasons against it; and showed no resentment toward him for his opposition. His Majesty, indeed, would have persuaded him to withdraw out of the House, since he could not give his vote in it's favour; but after a modest excuse, Cranmer told him, that 'he thought himself obliged in conscience to stay, and declare his dissent.' When the bill passed, he entered his protest against it; and soon afterward he sent his wife privately to her friends in Germany. Nevertheless the King, who esteemed him for his resolution and his integrity, through the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and Lord Cromwell, assured him of his continued favour.\*

till they were examined by the King and his Council, &c."—  
 "He requires that none may argue against the presence of Christ in the Sacrament, under the pain of death and of the loss of their goods; and orders all to be punished, who did disuse any rites or ceremonies not then abolished: yet he orders them to be observed without superstition, only as remembrances, and not to repose in them a trust of salvation."

\* Long however, before this arbitrary act was passed, Henry's mind had received an impression to the disadvantage of Popery from a singular work published by one Fish, and called 'The Supplication of Beggars.' Upon this book being rehearsed in his presence, he shrewdly observed, "If a man should pull down an old stone-wall, and begin at the lower part, the upper part thereof might chance to fall upon his head." And then he took the book, and put it into his desk, and commanded them upon their allegiance, that they should not tell to any man that he had seen this book. (Fox.) This work, which depicted in frightful colours the rapacity of the Romish clergy, was answered by Sir Thomas More in 1529. (*Bibliom.*) See also Latimer's Life.

Upon the death of Cromwell, in whose behalf he had the manly honesty to intercede with his Sovereign, though in vain, the Archbishop retired for a time from court, and attended solely to ecclesiastical affairs. In 1540, he was constituted one of the Commissioners for inspecting into matters of religion and explaining some of it's principal doctrines. In this office he was enabled, by his vigilance, to exclude the introduction (which his colleagues had insidiously meditated) of a set of Articles favourable to the old superstition. And, in 1541, he ordered all superstitious shrines to be taken away from the churches, pursuant to the royal letters, which he had solicited for that purpose.

The year following, he endeavoured to get the severe Articles moderated, and to procure for the people the full liberty of reading the Scriptures: but the Popish bishops so far prevailed, that his bill by restraints and limitations fell far short of the benevolent design of the proposer. Even as it was, however, his enemies could no longer brook his patronising of farther reformation; and therefore, while he was holding a visitation at Canterbury, they drew up against him several articles, which were signed by some of his own prebendaries, and in the name of his own church presented to the Council. By these means, they came into the King's hands; who perceiving that the whole charge was founded in malice, took them with him in his barge, and ordered the boatmen to row to Lambeth. Cranmer was ready upon the stairs to receive him: but Henry ordered him to come into the barge, and to seat himself by him; after which he began to lament the growth of heresy, and the dissensions and confusion

that were likely to ensue; adding, that 'he intended to find out the encourager of these heresies, and to make him an example to the rest.' The Archbishop approved his Majesty's resolution, but at the same time entreated him to 'consider well what heresy was, and not to condemn those as heretics, who stood up for the word of God against human inventions.' "O my chaplain," replied the King, "now I know who is the greatest heretic in Kent;" and produced the articles. That the clergy of his own church, and the magistracy of his own neighbourhood, should have been guilty of such treachery, deeply afflicted him: but having looked over the charges, and perceived their falsehood, he kneeled to the King, and acknowledging that 'his opinion with respect to the Six Articles was unaltered, though he had done nothing against them,' desired him to grant a commission to whomsoever he pleased, to try the truth of the accusations. Henry upon this loosely asked him, 'Whether his Grace's bed-chamber would stand the test of those articles?' When the Archbishop frankly confessed, that 'he was married in Germany during his embassy at the Emperor's court, before his promotion to the see of Canterbury;' but at the same time he assured the King, that 'on the passing of that act, he had sent his wife back to her friends.'

Henry in return for his sincerity told him, 'he would grant a commission for the trial, in which from his confidence in his integrity he should constitute himself the chief Commissioner, being well assured that he would bring the truth to light, even though it were to his own disadvantage.' He named Dr. Bellhouse as second, and left the rest to the



Archbishop; adding, that 'if he managed the matter wisely, he would discover a deep conspiracy against him.' Cranmer modestly expostulated against being made judge in his own cause, but the Monarch was determined, and thus they parted.

The candid Archbishop appointed his vicar-general and his principal register the other Commissioners, though he well knew they were secret favourers of the Romish faction. These opened their commission at Feversham by summoning two of the principal complainants against the Primate, who upbraided them with their ingratitude in such pathetic terms, that they burst into tears. He then, after ordering them into custody, left the farther discovery of the plot to his colleagues. As they proceeded however but slowly in the business, the King sent Dr. Leigh and Dr. Taylor, two eminent civilians, with fresh instructions. The new Commissioners on their arrival issued orders to the proper officers to search the houses of certain prebendaries and others at Canterbury suspected of being engaged in the plot, and to bring back with them all letters or other writings they could find relative to the Archbishop: and thus was the whole conspiracy traced to Gardiner, Bonner, and others. Among these papers Cranmer, to his heavy affliction, found letters from Dr. Thornden and Dr. Barber, gentlemen of his own household, upon whom he had bestowed uncommon marks of esteem and friendship. After asking them 'what punishments the blackest ingratitude deserved,' he produced to them their correspondence, and dismissed them from his service: but he never expressed the least resentment against them afterward, when he was obliged to see them upon public occasions.

His mild forgiving temper, indeed, was so generally known, that it became a common saying; "Do my Lord of Canterbury but one shrewd turn, and he's your friend for ever."

A fresh instance of his Christian temper appeared in 1544; when Sir John Gostwick, one of the members for Bedfordshire, accused him in the House of Commons of manifest heresy against the sacrament of the altar, in his sermons and lectures at Sandwich and at Canterbury. Henry, knowing this to be a fresh effort of disappointed malice, sent a message to Gostwick (whom he called, 'varlet') insisting that 'he should acknowledge his fault, and reconcile himself to the Archbishop:' upon which he repaired to Lambeth, and obtained not only Cranmer's forgiveness, but his promise also to intercede for him with the King.

Not long afterward the Duke of Norfolk, and the rest of the Popish party in the Council, made a formal complaint against Cranmer, alleging that 'he with his learned men had so infected the kingdom, that the major part of the people were become abominable heretics;' and expressing their fears, that this might produce commotions, like those which had sprung up in Germany on the same account. They therefore prayed, that 'his Grace might be committed to the Tower, until he could be examined;' giving as a reason for his imprisonment, that no man would dare to object matters against him, being a Privy Councillor, till he was confined. Their importunities to some extent prevailed: but, the same night, the King sent for the Archbishop from Lambeth; and upon his arrival told him, how 'he had been daily teased to commit him to prison as a favourer of heresy, and

how far he had complied.' The Archbishop, thanking his Majesty for this timely notice, declared himself willing to go to the Tower, and stand a trial; for, being conscious of his innocence, he thought that the best way to remove all unreasonable and groundless suspicions. Henry told him, 'he was in the wrong to rely so much upon his innocence; for, if he were once hurried to prison, there would be villains enow to swear any thing to his disadvantage: whereas, so long as he continued at liberty, it would be less easy to suborn witnesses against him:' "and, therefore," continued he, "since your own unguarded simplicity makes you less cautious than you ought to be, I will suggest to you the means of your preservation. To-morrow you will be sent for to the Privy Council, and examined: upon this, you are to request that, 'since you have the honour to be one of the board, you may have as much favour as they would have themselves; that is, to have your accusers brought before you:' and if they oppose this, and will not comply with your request, but persist in sending you to the Tower, then do you appeal from them to our person, giving them this ring (which he then delivered to him) and they shall well understand how to act; for they know I never use that ring for any other purpose, but to call matters from the Council before me."

The next morning, Cranmer was summoned to the Privy Council; and when he arrived, was denied admittance into the council-chamber: upon which Dr. Butts,\* one of the King's physicians, came to him in

\* To this pious and excellent man Borbonius in his '*Nugæ*' has addressed some grateful verses; which, perhaps, may be re-

the lobby among the footmen to show his respect, and to protect him from insults.

Henry, incensed that the Primate of all England should be used in so contumelious a manner, immediately commanded that he should be admitted into the council-chamber. Upon his entrance, he was saluted with a heavy accusation of having infected the whole realm with heresy, and ordered to the Tower, till the whole of the charge should be thoroughly examined. The Archbishop having in vain desired to 'see his accusers, and to be permitted to defend himself before the Council,' appealed to his Sovereign; and producing the ring, which he had received, put a stop to their proceedings. When they came before the King, he severely reprimanded them; expatiated on his obligations to Cranmer for his fidelity and integrity; and charged them, 'if they had any affection for him, to express it by their love and kindness to his friend.' Thus rescued out of their clutches Cranmer showed not the smallest resentment for the meditated injury: but from this time he retained so large a share in the Monarch's favour, that nothing farther was attempted against him during the remainder of his reign.

He now (1545) set about a revision of the ecclesiastical laws of England, which being founded on the

garded as placing him above the ordinary level of his court-station, and justifying the mention of his humane and useful attention in this place.

*En tibi quem per te rex longo è carcere traxit,*

\* \* \* \*

*Huc tamen invitis furiis me Christus adegit,*

*Numinè quo flagras et tua tota domus.*

*Tu patria et requies igitur finisque malorum;*

*Tu mihi Mæcenas, tu mihi, BUTTE, pater. (vii. 113.)*

canon law were incompatible alike with the King's supremacy, and with the general principles of the Reformation. But after having drawn up with great labour, and by the assistance of some of his ablest friends, a new code of regulations, he had the mortification to find his interest insufficient to get them confirmed by parliament. He was authorised, indeed, by Henry to publish 'An exhortation to prayer, thought meet by his Majesty and his clergy to be read to the people; and also a Litany, with suffrages to be said or sung in time of the processions.' But his influence over the royal mind had partially declined; and statutes were enacted, tending to lead the nation back to the worst principles of spiritual slavery.

Upon the death of Henry VIII., Cranmer had the honour of placing the crown on the head of his successor. And now having a Protestant Sovereign, and being himself one of the regency, he was empowered to take many effectual measures, with the concurrence of the Protector, to perfect the Reformation. The book of Homilies was drawn up, and the translation of Erasmus' paraphrase of the New Testament encouraged. The statute of the six Articles was repealed. In a convocation held in November 1547, he exhorted the clergy to 'throw off the corruptions of Popery, and to study the Scriptures;' the communion in both kinds was established, and the marriage of priests was declared lawful by a great majority. And Gardiner and Bonner, it was observed, were particularly assiduous in executing his orders for suppressing ridiculous processions in their dioceses. To the Universities he showed himself a liberal patron, by defending their rights, securing their revenues, inviting

and providing for learned foreigners, Martin Bucer, Paul Fagius, Peter Martyr, and others. The year following he published a Catechism, or short instruction in the Christian religion, for the use of children and young persons; and a Latin treatise against unwritten verities, for the purpose of proving, that all idle traditions are to be disregarded, and that the Bible alone should be considered as the oracle of salvation. He, likewise, procured an Order of Council for the total removal of Images from the churches.

Hitherto, his conduct had been in every respect irreproachable; but in the year 1549 he obtained a commission, in conjunction with Latimer, Ridley, and others, by no means conformable to the spirit of the Christianity found in those Scriptures, by which he professed to regulate all his actions. Complaints had been made to the Council, that ‘among the foreigners who had lately been encouraged (as Protestants flying from persecution) to come to England, several anabaptists and other sectarians had arrived, and were propagating their errors.’ The Commissioners were, therefore, authorised to endeavour to reclaim them; or if they persisted in their opinions, to excommunicate them, and deliver them over to the secular power. This commission wore the aspect of Popish persecution;\* differing from it, indeed, only as to the objects; and was framed, it is said, upon the model of one granted to

\* It must be conceded, we fear, that vindictive measures were adopted against many leading Catholics; and in the treatment which Hooper and some others endured, in consequence of their scruples relative to ecclesiastical habits, the Archbishop cannot be considered as wholly blameless.

Gardiner and Bonner in the last reign, to enforce the observance of the Bloody Statutes. However this may be, Cranmer to his eternal dishonour passed sentence of death upon a poor ignorant woman, Joan Bocher, who deserved rather pity from a Christian bishop, than punishment.

She had denied, 'that Christ was truly incarnate of the Virgin, whose flesh being sinful, he could take none of it; but the Word (she said) by the consent of the inward man in the Virgin, took flesh of her.' These were her assertions; and they are to the full as intelligible, as many of the opinions broached by the commentators of the dark ages on the same mysterious subject. Edward VI. was against signing the warrant for her execution, and at last set his hand to it with tears in his eyes, protesting that 'if he did wrong, it was in submission to the authority of the Archbishop, who must answer for it to God.' This making a deep impression upon Cranmer, both he and Ridley took considerable pains to convert the woman, suspending the execution from time to time for this purpose: but as she absolutely refused to abjure her opinions, she was at last burnt in May 1550; and not long afterward George Van Parre, a Dutchman, was consigned by the same Commissioners to a similar destiny, for maintaining that 'God the Father was the only God, and that Christ was not very God.' Such were the fruits of the old seed of Popery, which still continued to infest the minds of the first Reformers! Such the disgraceful consequences of their departure from the principles of the right of private judgement, and the sufficiency of the Scriptures, upon which alone their secession from the church of Rome could be vindicated!

This year likewise witnessed the deprivation of Gardiner, after he had been illegally imprisoned upward of two years, and harassed with inquisitorial interrogatories; Bonner, a few months before, had incurred a similar fate. Cranmer ordained also several priests and deacons, for the first time, according to the form set forth in the book of Common Prayer, which having been revised and amended was established by act of parliament in 1552. He had now published his 'Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament,' in opposition to the doctrine of the Real Presence. This tract gave great offence to the Popish party, by whom Gardiner was persuaded to write against it.\* In the course of the same year he had two severe fits of illness, which prevented his attending at the council-board, till the affair of the succession in favour of Lady Jane Grey was partly determined. This measure, it appears, he at first opposed, especially as it involved the exclusion of the princess Elizabeth; but in the end he subscribed, and after Edward's death he openly appeared for Lady Jane, and was one of her Council. On the accession of Mary, however, a false report was raised, that 'Cranmer, in order to make his court to the new Queen, had offered to restore the Latin service, and had already said mass in his cathedral church at Canterbury.' To vindicate himself from this base aspersion, he published a declaration, in which he not only cleared himself from the imputation, but also offered, with the

\* In this reply, he severely reproaches the Archbishop for having persisted so many years in the belief of the Real Presence, and then denying it so suddenly: Cranmer owned, indeed, that Ridley's conversation had led him to this late discovery of his error.



assistance of Martyr and a few others, to maintain by a public disputation the Liturgy established under Edward VI.\* This declaration falling into the hands of the Council, he was cited to appear in the Star-Chamber, and asked, 'if he was the author of it?' He replied in the affirmative, but complained that 'it had, contrary to his intention, stolen abroad in an imperfect condition; as he had designed to review and correct it, and then to have affixed it under his hand and seal at St. Paul's, and on all the church-doors in London.'

Contrary to his own expectations, he was dismissed after this examination, though he perceived his answer had enraged the Commissioners; and now his friends strenuously urged him to consult his safety by retiring beyond sea. But he thought it would reflect gross dishonour upon the cause, which he had espoused, if he should under those circumstances desert his station. A few days afterward he was summoned to attend the Council, and was charged with high treason against the Queen, which he had aggravated by dispersing seditious bills exciting tumults to the great disquiet of the state.

In November, 1553, he was attainted by the parliament, and adjudged guilty of high treason. His see was, in consequence, declared void; and, on the tenth of December, the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury issued commissions to several persons to exercise

\* He had been advised to fly from the approaching storm. But he firmly resolved to encounter it's vengeance; saying, 'It would be no way fitting for him to go away, considering the post he was in: it was rather his duty to show, that he was not afraid to own all the changes, which were by his means made in religion during the preceding reign.'

archiepiscopal jurisdiction in their name and by their authority. The Queen, also, now gave her subjects a specimen of her bigotry, her ingratitude, and her vindictiveness. She was under personal obligations of the highest nature to Cranmer, who had interceded for her with her father, when that Prince had resolved to put her publicly to death for espousing her mother's cause, and refusing to submit to him after their separation. At that time, when neither the Duke of Norfolk nor Gardiner durst venture to plead for her, the Archbishop boldly represented to Henry, that 'such an act would fill all Europe with horror.' But then he had pronounced the sentence of divorce against her mother, and he was a heretic! These two crimes were thought sufficient to cancel every obligation; and therefore, though with true jesuitical subtilty she pardoned him the treason, she left him in the hands of his bitter enemies, to suffer a more cruel death for his heresy.

In April, 1554, he was removed with Bishops Ridley and Latimer to Oxford, to dispute with some select persons of both Universities. Upon his appearing in the public schools, three articles were given him to subscribe; in which the corporeal presence, by transubstantiation, was asserted, and the mass affirmed to be 'a propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the living and the dead.' These, he declared freely, he esteemed gross untruths; and he promised to give an answer concerning them in writing.

That writing, on his next appearance, he delivered to Dr. Weston the prolocutor. From eight in the morning the disputation lasted till two in the afternoon; and during these six long hours Cranmer constantly maintained the truth, with great learning and

courage, against a multitude of clamorous and insolent opponents. Three days afterward he was again brought forth to oppose Dr. Harpsfield, who was to respond for his degree in divinity: and here he so clearly showed the inextricable difficulties of the doctrine of transubstantiation, that Weston himself, bigot as he was, could not but dismiss him with applause. In these disputations, among other slanderous reproaches, the Archbishop was accused of having corrupted and falsified a passage which, in his book on the Sacrament, he had quoted from St. Hilary. He replied, that 'he had transcribed it verbatim from the printed book; and that Dr. Smith also, one of their own divines there present, had quoted it word for word.' To this Smith made no reply, being conscious that it was true. When the disputation was printed, one Mr. Heleot, who was in possession of Smith's book, went directly to his chamber in University College; and comparing it with Cranmer's, found the quotations exactly to agree. He subsequently examined a tract of Gardiner's, entitled 'The Devil's Sophistry,' where the same passage was cited, and precisely in the same words. Upon which, he resolved to carry both the volumes to the Archbishop, that he might produce them in his own vindication.

On his way, however, he was stopped and brought before Dr. Weston and his colleagues, who upon information of his design charged him with abetting Cranmer in his heresy, and committed him to prison. The next day, they again summoned him before them; and threatened to send him to Gardiner, to be tried for treason, unless he would subscribe to the three articles concerning which the disputations had

been held. This he, at that time, refused; but, after Cranmer's condemnation, through fear he consented to it: not however till they had assured him, that 'if he sinned by so doing, they would take the guilt upon themselves, and answer for it to God.' Yet not even this subscription, of which he afterward heartily repented, could prevail either for the restoring of his books, or for his entire discharge; the Master of University College being commanded to keep a strict watch over him, till Gardiner's pleasure should be known, and if he heard nothing farther within a fortnight, to expel him from his society.

On the twentieth of April, Cranmer again refusing to subscribe, was pronounced a heretic, and sentence of condemnation was delivered against him as such: upon which he exclaimed, "From this your unjust judgement and sentence, I appeal to the just judgement of the Almighty, trusting to be present with him in heaven." His servants were now dismissed from their attendance, and he was more closely confined. The Commissioners and a popish convocation next ordered his book on the Sacrament to be burnt, in company with the English Bible and the Common Prayer-Book.

In 1555, a new commission was sent from Rome to try him again; the former sentence against him being void in law, as the authority of the Pope had not yet been formally re-established. The judges appointed upon the occasion were Dr. Brooks Bishop of Gloucester, the Pope's delegate, and Dr. Storey and Dr. Martin, doctors of the civil law, the Queen's Commissioners. To the two latter, as representing the supreme authority of the nation, Cranmer when brought before them paid all due respect; but he ab-

olutely refused to show any to the representative of the Romish Prelate, lest he should seem to make the least acknowledgement of his usurped supremacy.

He was then charged with blasphemy and heresy, for what he had done and written against the papal authority; with perjury, in having violated his oath to the Pope; and with incontinence, on account of his marriage. Against these imputations he defended himself with great resolution; and answered sixteen interrogatories, which were put to him; after which Brooks, in the Pope's name, cited him to appear at Rome within eighty days, there to deliver his vindication in person: an act of the most flagrant injustice, as it was wholly out of the power of a prisoner to comply! To add to the absurdity as well as the cruelty of these proceedings; the Pontiff addressed to Philip and Mary, Bonner Bishop of London, and Thirlby Bishop of Ely, letters executory to degrade and deprive him; in which he was declared contumacious, for not having made his appearance at Rome! Some time before his degradation, he wrote two letters to the Queen, in which he represented to her the evils, which would result from the re-establishment of the papal authority in England; 'an authority,' he added, 'subversive not only of the laws of the nation, but also of the laws of God.' He, farther, endeavoured to convince her of the erroneousness of the Romish doctrine of the Sacrament. He vindicated himself in his refusal to acknowledge the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome; and reminded her Majesty, that at her coronation she took an oath to that Prelate to be obedient to him, to defend his person, and to maintain his honour, laws, and privileges; and, at the same time, another oath to the kingdom,

to maintain the laws, liberties, and customs of the same. He entreated her seriously to examine both these obligations, and to mark how they would agree, and then to act as her conscience should direct. He feared, he said, that 'there were contradictions in them; and that those, who should have informed her Majesty thoroughly, had not done their duty therein.' He complained, that 'he was kept from the company of learned men, from books, from counsel, and from pen and ink, except what was now granted him in order to write to her Majesty.' And 'as to his appearance at Rome, if she would give him leave,' he added, 'he would appear there; and he trusted in God, that he would enable him to defend his truth there as well as here.'

From a delay in the proceedings, which has been accounted for in the Life of Gardiner, the mortifying ceremony of degradation was not performed till the fourteenth of February 1556, when the Archbishop was brought before Bonner and Thirlby. After they had read their commission from the Pope, Bonner scurrilously insulted over him in a most unchristian manner. For this he was frequently rebuked by his colleague, whose gentle nature melted into tears at the afflicting spectacle. They, next, proceeded to degrade him; and that they might render him as ridiculous as possible, robed him in an episcopal habit made of canvas. Cranmer then, pulling out of his sleeve a written appeal, said, "I appeal to the next General Council." After this, they put on him an old thread-bare gown and a townsman's coat, and in that garb delivered him over to the secular power. As they were leading him to prison, a gentleman came and gave some money to the bailiffs to be expended

in procuring him a few comforts. For this charitable action, Bonner ordered him to be seized; and, had he not found powerful intercessors, he would have been sent to the council to be tried for his suspicious benevolence.

While the Archbishop continued in confinement, no endeavours were omitted to win him over to the church of Rome. Many of the most eminent divines in the University resorted to him daily, hoping by arguments and persuasions to effect his conversion, but in vain. At length his enemies, finding that neither threats nor sophistries could shake his fortitude, devised a stratagem which proved fatal to his reputation. They removed him from prison to the lodgings of the Dean of Christ-Church, treated him with the highest respect, and made him large promises of the Queen's favour and the restitution of his former dignities, provided he would set his name to a particular paper. For some time, he resisted their importunities: but by continual representations of the difference between living many years honoured and esteemed, and the horrors of voluntarily as it were ending his days in flames, human frailty gave way; and in an unguarded moment he signed six different documents, one explanatory of another, acknowledging his belief of the Romish religion in the most ample terms, avowing his sorrow for his past errors, exhorting all whom he had misled to return to the Catholic faith, and protesting that 'he subscribed the paper willingly and solely for the acquittal of his conscience.'\*

\* On Cranmer's death, the Papists artfully and eagerly circulated a small 4to pamphlet in six leaves, entitled, 'All the Submissions and Recantations of Thomas Cranmer, late Archebysshop

This recantation the Popish party caused to be printed, and dispersed, with all expedition; and now the base perfidy of his persecutors displayed itself in it's blackest colours. Even the Queen, whose honour was concerned that the promises made in her name should not be violated, was the first to declare that his recanting must not serve his turn. "It was, indeed, good (she said) for his soul, that he had repented, and might do good to others; but yet the sentence must be executed." Her Majesty seems to have adopted the horrible opinion, at that time maintained by some of her own church, that Faith was not to be kept with heretics. The warrant for his execution was, accordingly, sent down to Oxford; but he was kept in profound ignorance of the fatal mandate, under an apprehension that he would otherwise retract his recantation. Dr. Cole, Provost of Eton, likewise, who was appointed to preach a sermon at the stake, the very day before the execution visited him in prison, and exhorted him to remain steadfast in the faith to which he had subscribed, without making any mention of his approaching death.

On the twenty-first of March, 1556, the day appointed for this authorised murder, several members of the council and other persons of rank, who had been despatched to Oxford to prevent tumults, as

of Canterburie, truely set forth both in Latyn and Englysh, agreeable to the Originalles wrytten and subscribed with his owne hande.

*Visum et examinatum per reverendum Patrem et Dominum, Dominum Edmundum Episcopum Londin. Anno M. D. LVI.*

In this tract, his final recantation of these 'Submyssions, &c.' which were extorted from him—it ought to be mentioned—is carefully suppressed. (Beloe, III. 86.)



sembled early in the morning: when it was agreed, on account of the rain, that the sermon should be preached at St. Mary's church; and, accordingly, Cranmer was brought thither by the Mayor, accompanied by Lord Williams and other courtiers, and placed on a low scaffold opposite the pulpit.

Dr. Cole, then, began his sermon; the chief scope of which was, to assign some reasons why it was expedient that the Primate, notwithstanding his recantation, should suffer. In the close, he addressed himself particularly to the venerable victim, exhorting him to bear up with courage against the terrors of death; and by the example of the thief upon the cross encouraging him 'not to despair, since he was returned, though late, to the profession of the true apostolical faith.'

Struck with horror at the unparalleled treachery of the proceeding, Cranmer, during the whole sermon wept incessantly; alternately lifting up his eyes to heaven, and casting them down to the ground with marks of the utmost dejection. When it was finished, Cole desired him to make an open declaration of his faith, as he had promised; upon which he knelt down, and prayed in the most fervent manner: then rising, he exhorted the people 'not to set their minds upon the world, to obey the Queen, to live in mutual love, to avoid covetousness, and to be charitable to the poor.' He next repeated the Apostle's Creed, and professed his belief of it, and of all things contained in the Old and New Testament: after which he declared his great and unfeigned repentance for having, contrary to his faith, subscribed the Popish doctrines; lamented it with many tears; and declared that 'the hand, which had so offended,

should be burnt before the rest of his body.' Finally, he renounced the Pope as Anti-christ, in the most express terms; and professed his belief concerning the Eucharist to be the same with that, which he had asserted in his book against Gardiner.

This was a mortifying disappointment to the Papists; who made loud clamors, and charged him with hypocrisy and falsehood. But he meekly replied, 'That he was a plain man, and had never acted the hypocrite, except when he was seduced by them to a recantation'—He would have proceeded, had not Cole cried out from the pulpit, "Stop the heretic's mouth, and take him away." Upon which they pulled him down with violence, and hurried him to the place of execution, where Latimer and Ridley had suffered the year before. He approached it with a cheerful countenance; and, notwithstanding the earnest solicitations of many of the Papists, continued still to declare his utter abhorrence of their errors, and his hearty repentance for having recanted.

After this, having knelt down and prayed, he undressed himself, took leave of his friends, and was bound to the stake. As soon as the fire was kindled, he stretched forth his right arm, and held it, steadfastly and without shrinking, in the flame (only once wiping his face with it) till it was quite consumed; not expressing any great sensation of pain, but frequently crying out, "This unworthy hand! this unworthy hand!" At last, lifting up his eyes to heaven, he expired, with Stephen's dying words upon his lips, "*Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!*"

"And thus (exclaims Strype) we have brought this excellent prelate to his end, after two years and a half hard imprisonment. His body was not car-

ried to the grave in state, nor buried (as many of his predecessors were) in his own cathedral church, nor inclosed in a monument of marble or touch-stone. Nor had he any inscription to set forth his praises to posterity ; no shrine to be visited by devout pilgrims, as his predecessors St. Dunstan and St. Thomas had. Shall we therefore say, as the poet doth :

*Marmoreo Licinus tumulo jacet, at Cato paruo,  
Pompeius nullo. Quis putet esse Deos ? \**

No ; we are better Christians, I trust, than so, who are taught that the rewards of God's elect are, not temporal, but eternal. And Cranmer's martyrdom is his monument, and his name will outlast an epitaph or a shrine."

That the Archbishop indeed was, in most respects, both a good and a great man, may be inferred from the zeal and the success, with which he laboured to emancipate his country from the Romish yoke. In his persecutions however, and in the trying conflict which preceded his recantation, he sinks far below his gentle and inflexible fellow-sufferers, Ridley and Latimer.

His abilities were rather solid, than brilliant ; and his writings are distinguished more by their good sense, than by their polish or their eloquence. His literary labours he had chiefly directed to those branches of knowledge, which were more immediately connected with his own profession. He had applied himself, in Cambridge, to the acquisition of the Greek and Hebrew languages ; which, though

\* Licinus' tomb is marble, Cato's sod ;  
Pompey has none—and is there, then, a God ? F.W.

deemed at that time a mark of heresy, appeared to him the only sources of attaining a critical knowledge of the Scriptures. He had likewise so accurately studied canon-law, that he was esteemed the best canonist in England; and his reading in theology was so extensive, that there were very few points, upon which he could not correctly give the opinions of the several ages of the church from the times of the Apostles. "If I had not seen with my own eyes," says Peter Martyr, "I could not easily have believed, with what infinite pains and labour he had digested his great reading into particular chapters, under the heads of councils, canons, decrees, &c."—His library, filled with a very noble collection of books, was open to all men of letters. He rose commonly at five o'clock, and was a strict economist of his time. He accustomed himself much to read and write in a standing posture, considering constant sitting as very pernicious to a studious man.\*

In his preaching, he was plain, practical, and impressive. To men of learning, as well fellow-countrymen as foreigners, he was a generous patron and friend; and he maintained an intimate and frequent correspondence with most of the distinguished scholars in Europe. His temper was mild and cheerful; his manners, both at home and in public, pleasing and amiable; to his servants and dependents he was particularly kind, and extremely liberal to the needy. Bishop Burnet informs us, that he 'laid out all his wealth on the poor, and in pious uses. He had hospitals and surgeons in his house for the King's seamen: he gave pensions to many of those, that had

\* Gilpin's Life of Cranmer.

fled out of Germany into England ; and kept up that which is hospitality indeed, at his table, where great numbers of the honest and poor neighbours were always invited, instead of the luxury and extravagance of great entertainments, which the vanity and excess of the age we live in has honoured with the name of hospitality.'

## SIR JOHN CHEKE.

[1514—1557.]

**T**HIS illustrious scholar was born at Cambridge, in 1514; and admitted at the age of seventeen of St. John's College, where he speedily distinguished himself by his proficiency in the learned languages, particularly Greek, then much neglected in that University. After taking his degrees in arts, on the recommendation of Dr. Butts he was sent abroad at the King's expense to travel for his farther improvement; and, upon his return, he was chosen Greek lecturer in his college. To this office no salary was annexed; but in the year 1540, Henry VIII. founded a Greek professorship at Cambridge, of which Cheke was appointed the first Professor, when only twenty-six years of age. He had, also, the honour of being elected University-Orator.

In 1544 he was appointed, jointly with Sir Antony Cook, preceptor to Prince Edward; and he appears, also, to have given instruction to the Princess Elizabeth. At the same time, he was appointed to a canonry of the newly-founded college of Christ-Church, Oxford, which he subsequently exchanged for a pension. Edward VI. likewise, upon his accession, settled on him an annuity of a hundred marks, together with

a grant of several lands and manors; and caused him to be elected Provost of King's College, Cambridge. His interest at court, indeed, sustained some temporary shocks, especially from his connexion with the unfortunate Duke of Somerset: but he still retained his office of tutor to the young Sovereign, who was greatly indebted to him for the knowledge and virtue, by which his transient reign was so illustriously distinguished. In 1550, he was appointed chief gentleman of the King's privy-chamber; and the year following, his Majesty conferred upon him the honour of knighthood, with an additional grant of considerable value. He was, subsequently, made Chamberlain of the Exchequer for life; in 1553, Clerk of the Council; and after a short interval, one of the Secretaries of State, and a Privy-Councillor.

Upon the death of Edward VI., with a view of sustaining the threatened interests of the Reformed Faith, Cheke entered into the criminal project of transferring the crown to Lady Jane Grey, to whose council he acted as Secretary. That rash scheme being speedily quashed, he was committed to the Tower, stripped of the chief part of his substance, and not long afterward set at liberty. Having procured leave to travel, he visited Basle and Padua, where he directed some of his countrymen in their studies. He then settled at Strasburg, where many learned Englishmen had associated to maintain the Protestant worship. There by the insidious invitation of his former friends, Lord Paget and Sir John Mason, who had reverted to their old creed, and his own unfortunate confidence in astrology (to the follies of which he was, unhappily, much addicted) he was decoyed in 1556 to Brussels, where his wife then

resided ; and, on his way between that city and Antwerp, seized by order of Philip II., and reconveyed to the Tower. Ultimately reduced to the terrifying dilemma, ' Turn or burn,' he was not proof against the fiery ordeal. Hoping, however, to escape the disgrace of a public recantation, he first made his solemn submission before Cardinal Pole, and humbly requested to be re-admitted into the bosom of the Catholic Church. But the triumph over such a man was too flattering to be enjoyed in a corner. He was, therefore, compelled to repeat this humiliating act of his infirmity before the Queen and her whole court. His property was now restored; but his recantation was followed by such bitterness of remorse, that he survived it but a short time, dying in 1557, at the early age of forty-three. He left behind him three sons.

1 The period, in which Cheke flourished, is highly interesting to letters. - He, in conjunction with his friend and contemporary Smith, was the great instrument of the diffusion of classical learning. Ancient literature had already begun to dawn; but it had not yet advanced into the clear and steady light of day. The efforts of these men contributed greatly to accelerate it's progress, and were effectual in deciding the taste of the age. Cheke and Smith were first incited to the pursuit of Grecian literature by the reputation and example of Dr. John Redman, of St. John's College (subsequently, Dean of Westminster) who after having followed his studies at the university of Paris, where he accomplished himself in the two learned languages, was elected Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity about the year 1539. 2 They abandoned the idle disputations of the schools, with the metaphysical subtilities of the schoolmen, for the



more delightful enjoyment of the Grecian and Roman classics. One of the great objects of their literary labours was, to introduce a more rational method of pronouncing Greek; or rather, to restore what they conceived to be the original pronunciation of that language. It may not be unacceptable to the philological student to be informed what the meditated change was, as stated in the Life of Cheke, by Strype.

At this period, the Greek language had only begun to be studied even in our Universities; and its pronunciation had been vitiated by the corrupt channels, through which it had been transmitted. In particular, the received method of sounding the diphthongs, and also some of the consonants, was such that it was sometimes impossible to distinguish different words by difference of sound. Thus  $\alpha$  was pronounced as  $i$ ,  $o$  as  $u$ , and  $\epsilon$  as  $i$ , and  $\eta$  and  $\upsilon$  were both sounded as  $i$  or  $j$ . Some of the consonants were differently pronounced, accordingly as they were differently situated in a word. Thus  $\pi$  after  $\upsilon$  was sounded as a soft  $\beta$ , and  $\tau$  after  $\mu$  was pronounced as our  $d$ . The letter  $\chi$  was pronounced as our  $ch$ , and  $\beta$  as our  $v$  consonant. With a very little reflexion upon the subject, it was not difficult to conclude, that such a method of pronunciation was totally destructive of all that euphony, which arises from variety of sound; and that such, therefore, could not have been the pronunciation of the Greeks.

These scruples formed the subjects of frequent conversations between Cheke and Smith, who was also public reader of Greek in his own college, and they determined upon an innovation. They seem to

have been led to the improvement in question by feeling, while lecturing in their respective colleges, the necessity of varying the sound as the vowels varied, in order to render the language intelligible, as well as harmonious to the ear. At the commencement of their doubts, they had not seen the book of Erasmus on the subject; but having procured it, together with Terentianus *De Literis et Syllabis*, they began their work of reformation: at the same time consulting those Grecian writers, particularly Aristophanes, from whom they were likely to derive aid. At length they arrived at the conclusion, that each vowel ought to possess its appropriate and distinct sound; and that every diphthong, as composed of two vowels, should have the sound of two.

But they were obliged to proceed with caution. They felt, that having reason on their side was not enough to insure support. In the first instance, they communicated the proposed change only to a few of their most intimate friends, and obtaining their approbation, resolved on making it public; still, however, with circumspection and prudence. It was agreed, that Smith should begin. At this time, he read Aristotle *De Republicâ* to his hearers; and the artifice, by which he contrived to smuggle in a few contraband words, is calculated to excite a smile in a modern reader, while it exhibits a strong proof of the ignorance and prejudice of the age. To hide the novelty of his pronunciation, he occasionally let fall a word, as if by inadvertence, pronounced in the new mode. At first, this excited no attention from his auditors; but as the number of these new-fangled vocables gradually increased, their curiosity was

awakened, and attention was sometimes so alert, as to induce him to correct himself, as if he had made a mistake. Frequently, too, what appeared to them the oddity of the sounds excited laughter. His audience soon began to suspect, that these frequent mistakes could not be the effect of accident; and on some of his friends communicating their suspicions to the lecturer, he frankly acknowledged that he had really a considerable change in contemplation, though it was not yet sufficiently matured for the public. They were eager for an explicit communication, which he promised: only requesting them to suspend their final decision, till their ears had become accustomed in some degree to the new sounds. He now proceeded to lecture in his own college upon Homer's 'Odyssey,' using the new pronunciation without restraint. Cheke did the same in his college; and, in a short time, the proposed improvement appeared so reasonable to the more learned and judicious part of the university, that it was eagerly adopted; and the study of the Greek became daily an object of greater attention, and of more ardent pursuit.

The Catholics, however, who at that period hated the very name of innovation, were greatly disturbed about this new way of pronouncing Greek, and opposed its introduction with obstinate perverseness. Unable to prevail, they complained to Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and Chancellor of the University, who immediately issued an edict, dated May 14, 1542, prohibiting all persons from using the new method, under the following penalties: 'If the offender were a regent, he was to be expelled the senate; if he stood for a degree, he was not to be admitted to it; if a scholar, he was to lose his

scholarship; and the younger students were to be privately chastised.'

This controversy, to which some allusion has been already made in the Life of Gardiner, was conducted between that prelate and Cheke in seven Latin epistles; of which the originals were left in the hands of Coelius Secundus Curio, a learned man of Basle, by Cheke himself on his journey to Italy, in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign: and by him they were published in 1555, without the knowledge of the author, under the following title: *Johannis Cheki Angli de Pronuntiatione Græcæ potissimum Linguae Disputationes cum Stephano Wintoniensi Episcopo septem, contrariis Epistolis comprehensæ, magnâ quâdam et elegantia et eruditione refertæ.\**

To prevent incorrectness in the Latin language arising from a violation of quantity, he proposed, that the Greek *ω* should be substituted for the long vowel *o*, as in *uxōrem*, *liberōs*; that the long *i* should be written with two points over it, as in *divīnitus*; and that the long *e*, and particularly the diphthong *æ* (which had been, commonly, written as the ordinary *e*) should have a comma after it as in *le,tor*.

In the changes, which he was desirous of introducing into the English orthography, he was less successful, and perhaps less rational. Here his leading idea was (to the utter confusion, in many instances, of the etymologist) to reject the final *e*, and other letters not sounded; and to distinguish by double letters the vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, and *o*, when sounded long or broad, and the *u* by a stroke over it; e. g. *giæ*, *faut*, *daar*, *liif*, *weer*, *loov*, *præsūm* (presume), &c.

\* This is, now, a scarce book.

A more promising attempt to improve the English language was, his resolution to admit no terms into his diction, which had not an English, or rather a Saxon original. But in respect of this scheme it might be observed, that the purity of our language had, even in his time, been too deeply corrupted by the admixture of exotic terms and phrases, to admit it's being carried into complete effect. Yet from his disapprobation of such terms and phrases, as employed in the existing translation of the Scriptures, he resolved on the Herculean labour of a new version; and actually proceeded through St. Matthew's gospel, and the beginning of that of St. Luke.\*

The points of view, in which we are perhaps most indebted to Sir John Cheke for the improvement of our language, are the following: He recommended and practised a more minute attention to the meaning of words and phrases, and adopted a more skilful arrangement of them in composition. Before him, the clauses were usually long, and frequently involved: He introduced short sentences; and has thus the merit of having generated precision of language, as well as added greatly to it's perspicuity and it's force.

In the arrangement and flow of words, there is often a considerable similarity between the English language and the Greek. Cheke was accustomed to read off his Greek lectures from the original into English; and, hence, he was probably led to the adoption of the improvements in question.†

\* These are now preserved in the library of Bene't College, Cambridge.

† It is not unworthy of remark, that the scholars of this age were particularly attentive to the writing of a fine hand. Thus

His only English work extant, with the exception of some Letters published by Strype, and a few others in Harrington's *Nugæ Antiquæ*, is his tract entitled, 'The Hurt of Sedition, how grievous it is to a Commonwealth;' written in 1549, on occasion of the formidable insurrections which broke out during that year, particularly in Devonshire and Norfolk: the western rebels insisting on the restoration of Popery, and the others under Ket demanding a reform in the government. To each of these classes of malcontents Sir John respectively addressed himself; to the first, as follows:

'Ye rise for religion. What religion taught you that? If ye were offered persecution for religion, ye ought to flee. So Christ teacheth you; and yet ye intend to fight. If ye would stand in the truth, ye ought to suffer like martyrs; and ye would slay like tyrants. Thus, for religion, ye keep no religion; and neither will follow the council of Christ, nor the constancy of martyrs. Why rise ye for religion? Have ye any thing contrary to God's book? Yea; have ye not all things agreeable to God's word? But 'the new is different from the old; and therefore ye will have the old.' If ye measure the old by truth, ye have the oldest. If ye measure the old by fancy, then it is hard, because men's fancies change, to give that is old. Ye will have the old stile: will ye have any older than that as Christ left, and his Apostles taught, and the first church did use? Ye will have that the canons do establish: why that is a great deal younger than that ye have, of later time, and

Sir John Cheke, Roger Ascham, and others, were not only the first scholars, but also the finest mechanical penmen, of the time.

newlier invented; yet that is it, that ye desire; And do ye prefer the bishops of Rome before Christ? men's inventions afore God's law? the newer sort of worship before the older? Ye seek no religion: ye be deceived; ye seek traditions. They, that teach you, blind you; they, that so instruct you, deceive you. If ye seek what the old doctors say, yet look what Christ, the oldest of all, saith. For he saith, *Before Abraham was made, I am.* If ye seek the truest way, he is the very truth: if ye seek the readiest way, he is the very way: if ye seek everlasting life, he is the very life. What religion would ye have other how than his religion? You would have the Bibles in again. It is no marvel; your blind guides should lead you blind still.

\* \* \* \* \*

‘ But why should ye not like that which God's word establisheth, the primitive church hath authorised, the greatest learned men of this realm have drawn the whole consent of, the parliament hath confirmed, the king's majesty hath set forth? Is it not truly set out? Can ye devise any truer than Christ's Apostles used? Ye think, it is not learnedly done. Dare ye, commons, take upon you more learning, than the chosen bishops and clerks of this realm have? \* \* \* \* \*

‘ Learn, learn to know this one point of religion, that God will be worshipped as he hath prescribed, and not as we have devised. And that his will is wholly in the Scriptures, which be full of God's spirit, and profitable to teach the truth,’ &c.

The political insurgents he addresses thus:

‘ Ye pretend to a commonwealth. How amend ye it by killing of gentlemen, by spoiling of gentle-

men, by imprisoning of gentlemen? A marvellous tanned\* commonwealth! Why should ye hate them for their riches, or for their rule? Rule they never took so much in hand, as ye do now. They never resisted the king, never withstood his council, be faithful at this day when ye be faithless, not only to the king whose subjects ye be, but also to your lords whose tenants ye be. Is this your true duty—in some of homage, in most of fealty, in all of allegiance—to leave your duties, go back from your promises, fall from your faith, and contrary to law and truth to make unlawful assemblies, ungodly companies, wicked and detestable camps; to disobey your betters, and to obey your tanners, to change your obedience from a king to a Ket, to submit yourselves to traitors, and break your faith to your true king and lords? \* \* \* \* \*

‘ If riches offend you, because ye would have the like, then think that to be no commonwealth, but envy to the commonwealth. Envy it is to impair another man’s estate, without benefit to your own; and to have no gentlemen because ye be none yourselves, is to bring down an estate, and to mend none. Would ye have all alike rich? That is the overthrow of all labour, and utter decay of work in this realm. For who will labour more, if when he hath gotten more, the idle shall by lust without right take what him list from him, under pretence of equality with him? This is the bringing in of idleness, which destroyeth the commonwealth; and not the amendment of labour, which maintaineth the commonwealth. If there should be such equality, then ye

\* Ket, their ringleader, was a tanner.



take all hope away from yours, to come to any better estate than you now leave them. And as many mean men's children come honestly up, and are great succour to all their stock, so should none hereafter be holpen by you. But because ye seek equality, whereby all cannot be rich, ye would that belike, whereby every man should be poor: and think, beside, that riches and inheritance be God's providence, and given to whom of his wisdom he thinketh good.'

This book was printed, and dispersed among the rebels.

As a proof of the industry, as well as of the learning, of this very distinguished scholar, it deserves to be mentioned, that he translated from the Greek into the Latin: 1. Five books of Josephus' Antiquities; 2. The Ascetic of Maximus the Monk; 3. Plutarch on Superstition; 4. Three of the Philippics of Demosthenes;\* 5. His three Olynthiacs; 6. His Oration against Leptines; 7. The antagonist Orations of Demosthenes and Æschines; and, 8. Aristotle *De Animâ*. 9. He, also, translated Sophocles and Euripides, literally; and, 10. made corrections on Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, Xenophon, and several other authors. He wrote, likewise, *De Superstitione ad Regem Henricum*, in order to excite that Sovereign to a more thorough reformation in religion; † two Latin epistles on the Death of Bucer, in 1554;

\* A saying of his, relative to Demosthenes, ought not to be omitted. "None (he observes) ever was more fit to make an Englishman tell his tale praise-worthy in an open hearing, either in parliament or pulpit or otherwise, than this only orator was."

† This treatise was translated by Mr. William Elstob, and is annexed to Strype's Life of Cheke.

and an heroic Poem in the same language, on the Death of Sir Antony Denny.

The presence of Cheke appears to have been necessary at Cambridge, in order to keep the attention of the members of that University fixed on polite letters: for he was no sooner called away to court, than they relapsed into disputations on the doctrines of predestination, original sin, &c. &c. As a farther proof of his influence upon the literary progression of his age, we may cite the contemporary testimony of Roger Ascham; who, in his 'Schoolmaster,' thus speaks of him: "At Cambridge also, in St. John's College, in my time I do know that not so much the good statutes, but two gentlemen of worthy memory, Sir John Cheke and Dr. Redman, by their only example of excellence in learning, of godliness in living, of diligence in studying, of counsel in exhorting, by good order in all things, did breed up so many learned men in that one college of St. John's at one time, as I believe the whole university of Louvain in many years was never able to afford."

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#### EXTRACTS

From Gardiner's first Letter to Cheke, upon his projecting an improvement of the pronunciation of Greek.

*' Quod pro suo jure Cancellarius ageret, ut lascivientem in re literaria inconsultam temeritatem ipsius magistratus auctoritate retundat et compri-  
mat, id ego per amicitiam tentandum putavi; ut  
quod à rudibus ac barbaris imperium exigeret, hoc*

*à miti ingenio et humanioribus literis mansuefacto impetrem per gratiam. Agam itaque tecum his literis, non ut Cancellarius cum scholare, sed homo in literis nonnihil versatus cum homine literarum perstudioso, et ut minimum dicam, optimæ certè spei adolescente, si modò fervor ætatis luxuriam non addiderit; noxiam illam dico, quam multi in te improbant, et nimium audacem. Moliris enim, ut audio, omnium ferè non dico cum irrisione sed cum indignatione etiam, novam cum in Græcâ tum in Latinâ linguâ literarum sonum inducere, et apud juventutem confirmare: quique tradendæ linguæ munus regiâ munificentia es assecutus, idem ipsius linguæ usum novo sono extinguis. Atqui hujus tui conatus gloriam (si quam expectas) præripuit Erasmus edito libello de pronuntiatione, et ante eum alii, qui multis argumentis ostendere conati sunt alium fuisse veteribus literarum sonum, quàm qui hodie obtineat vel apud Græcos vel apud Latinos. Quod in re et tibi, et illis, litem remitto. Sed ut sonum in multis literis usu jam receptum à vetustioris sæculi pronuntiatione omninò alienum esse, ac bis per omnia (ut aiunt) distare, illis et testibus et auctoribus docere queas; illum tamen verum, si ita vis, et genuinum ac cum ipsis literis nativum sonum quo pacto nobis queas referre, ut eundem omnes et sequamur et retineamus, omninò non video. Sanè quidem in v, in n, in ipsis denique diphthongis alium fuisse sonum primorum literarum parentum, alium hodiè nostrum, ipsa ratio indicat, et summorum virorum auctoritas clarissimè confirmat. Sed neque in eâ re aliqua ingeni laus esse poterit, ut in perpetuâ rerum ferè omnium mutatione sonos etiam probes non eosdem manere.*

“*Ergo,*” inquires, “*restituatur quod verum est.*” *Hic te rogo per literas, Cheke, cujus munere decuriae hoc tibi arrogas, ut sedeas nobis prætor et arbiter honorarius, qui tanquam ex edicto sonum restituas literarum proprium et nativum? Sed sit hominum consensu prorogata jurisdictio. Hic etiam atque etiam videndum est tibi, ne litem facias tuam. Et quandoquidem tibi nunc tanquam judici loquor, sententiæ illius admonebo quam tradunt jurisconsulti; videlicet, ‘non si probo rem tuam non esse, sequitur continuò esse meam, quum possit neutrius esse:’ ut simili modo, quum receptam improbaveris pronuntiationem, nihilo magis statuis et confirmas tuam; quum possit primus et genuinus literarum sonus longè alius et diversus ab eo fuisse, quem superiores, quos nos legimus, et quos tu habes auctores, tradiderunt. Ut ubique valeat quod Academici docuerunt, susceptum quâcunque de re opinionem convellere non paulò sit facilius, quàm statuere verum. Concedo itaque tibi, sed dialectico more, ut mihi fas sit repetere, errorem nostrum in pronuntiatione esse manifestarium. Hunc tu corrige, si pòtes; interim tamen illius Horatiani memor,*

‘*In vitium culpæ fuga ducit, si caret arte.*’

‘*Et quis unquam sonorum artem literis descripsit tam exactè et dilucidè, ut unam et eandem imitationem, quod artis et naturæ est proprium, omnes assequantur. Nam ridiculum est, quòd ad oves et boves confugas ac pecora campi, ut doceas nos quo pacto βληχω, βοαω, et κοκκυξ à nobis pronuntientur: præsertim cùm ovis, verbi causâ, quæ suâ voce tuis auribus βλε, aliis omninò non blere sed balare videtur. At verò error, si quis est, non nisi vero*

*corrigitur. Nam alioqui error non tollitur, sed mutatur. Et si in tantâ rerum caligine omnino errandum sit, longè tolerabilius est veterem errorem cum reliquis omnibus retinere, quàm te uno auctore, novo errore admisso, omnibus nos deridendos ob-  
jicere.*

*‘ Atque hactenùs tecum ago, quasi in linguæ pronuntiatione omnes hodiè erraverimus, et in vero restituendo tu navaveris operam. Sed vide, quæso, ne quem tu tractaveris errorem, non omnino sit error, sed ipsum verum. Neque enim quod ab antiquitate alienum et omnino dissentaneum est, continuo falsum est aut minùs verum; præsertim in linguâ, in quâ verum ab usu petitur, non ab origine aut ratione. Rectè locutus est Ennius sæculo suo: à quo tamen nos in verbis rectissimè dissidemus. Quin et in structura quoque et casuum varietate, quod apud veteres obtinuit, nos citra errorem rejicimus ac reproba-  
mus. Itaque aliter illi locuti sunt, aliter nos. Sed uterque verè: ut restituere antiquitatem linguæ, non sit verum repetere, quod desiit esse, sed quod esse jam cæpit abrogare. Verum enimverò in linguâ illud est, non quod prima inventio rudius eduxit, sed quod doctorum usus perpolivit et tenet. Quod si in verbis obtinet, quorum præcipua sit ratio, quanto magis in sono, qui in verbis sedem et stabilimentum habet? Quod te oro, Cheke, ne auctor esse velis juventuti, ut linguæ Latinæ Græcæve alium sonum affingat suâ conjecturâ quam à majoribus recepit, aut quam docti hodie retinent.*

*‘ “ At,” inquires,*

*—‘ Quem sequar, aut quos;’*

*quum nec Germanus cum Gallo, nec cum alterutro*

*eorum Italos omnino consentiat?" Hic appello equitatem tuam, ut quum omnibus per omnia consentire nequeas, ne ab omnibus per omnia velis dissentire. Ne confugas, oro, ad illud quod Græci vocant τοῦ ἀπορίτου, ut aut omnia probes aut rejicias omnia. Quisquis solutâ anchorâ in alterutrum littus illidit, mirum ni naufragium faciat. Ne sis in excutiendis sonis nimium Stoicus. Atque illud memineris, ut verborum, sic sonorum arbitrium ab usu auctoritatem, non à ratione accipere.*

*‘ Jam expecto, ut tu mihi objicias proximi sæculi barbariem, quæ et literas et sonos (ut tibi quidem videtur) fædissimè contaminavit, quam purgare præstiterit quàm imitari. Hoc si negavero, et statum reddidero conjecturalem, Erasmus sat scio provocabis et doctorum gregem. At verò ii non contaminationem in literarum sonis, sed mutationem ostendunt: quod equidem non eo inficias. Sed non omnis mutatio improbanda est; et literarum sonus à doctis verisimilius, qui magnam euphoniæ rationem solent habere, quàm à crassis et illiteratis cæpit immutari. Itaque in suo Oratore Cicero refert mulieres Romanas, indoctas illas et quæ intra parietes domi continebantur, veram et genuinam Latine linguæ pronuntiationem solas retinuisse; quum jam inter doctos et eruditos non maneret perinde integra et naturalis.*

*‘ Et si quæras, nihil ferè relinquunt in profanis immotum majora ingenia. Ædes, vestes, lingua, et musica denique tota à vetere illo rudiore et agrestiore schemate defecerunt, et cultu hominum in novam ferè faciem transformantur omnia. Quæ utcunque ab antiquorum austeritate, sive majoris gravitate dissentiant, hoc uno tamen constant et*

*valent, quòd cum præsentis ætatis ingenio consentiant et politicæ urbanitatis delicias referant. Congressum hominum, colloctionem, sermonem quotidianum, familiarem appellationem quàm subtiliter hodiè concinnavit et perpolivit hominum ad summum ferè perducta civilitas!*

\* \* \* \*

To this Letter,\* which is immediately followed by the Edicta of the Chancellor upon the subject, Cheke with honest firmness replies :

\* \* \* \*

*‘ Objicitur mihi “ pronuntiationis Græcæ ac Latine novatio.” Magna sanè res, et odiosa! Quid, quasi scelestum objicitur, an quasi temerarium? Certè ejus, quod objicitur, dimidium est falsum. Nam nihil unquam neque novum neque vetus in Latinam linguam introduci: quod si fecissem, tamen cum antiquorum hominum auctoritate illud firmare possem, non est quòd me puderet, si consueti erroris approbationem elevissem. Nunc quamquam quòd de Latina lingua dicitur non est valdè magnum; tamen aliquid est partem accusationis tantam esse inanem. Sed in Græcâ lingua si ‘ novum’ sic dicitur; quasi inauditum et recens à me fabricatum, ne no-*

\* These letters were printed, as before mentioned, by Cælius Secundus at Episcopiuss’ press, in 1555, and dedicated to Sir Antony Cook, as jointly engaged with Sir John Cheke in the instructing of Edward VI.: *quâ si adultus uti potuisset (observes the Editor) si ad regni gubernacula cum eâ pervenisset, et ante tempus immaturâ morte præreptus non fuisset, quodnam regnum in terris felicius? quæ gens beatior unquam extitisset? Sed ostendere hunc terris tantùm fata voluere, neque ultrâ sinere. Nimiùm enim gens Angla visa felix,*

— propria hæc si dona fuissent.

*um quidem quicquam ibi est à me constitutum: sin-  
intermissum et ad tempus depositum 'novum' nunc  
dicitur, fateor equidem aliquid in Græcâ linguâ  
esse novum. Sed hoc non est quicquam novare, quod  
vetus est atque utile introducere: sed pristinam  
hoc est pronuntiandi rationem revocare, et antiqui-  
tatis studium, quod in hâc linguâ spectare debemus,  
redintegrare.*

*'Magnum igitur vitium erit, et intolerabilis  
cujusdam arrogantiae signum, si antiquos sequimur?  
Et quod unum in omnibus studiis et disciplinis per-  
sequendis laudatur, id in sonorum ratione vitu-  
peratur? Qui se ad theologiæ aut medicinæ aut phi-  
losophiæ studium adjungunt, non se ad ætatis nostræ  
homines, sed ad antiquos conferre debent. Et qui  
Græcæ aut Latine linguæ facultatem quærunt,  
iidem à Platone et Demosthene, à Cicerone et Cæ-  
sare ista petunt. Et omnium cæterarum rerum  
studium, sive in re sive in sermone sit positum, ab  
optimâ magistrâ antiquitate dimanat: una sonandi  
ratio à nostris, quantum video, hominibus hauriri  
debet. Sed sanè non video cur, si sonorum usu ab  
auctoritate antiquorum quasi à magistro recesserit,  
non debeamus eum quasi fugitivum servum retrahere  
ac constringere. Nam usus iste, qui tantoperè  
jactatur, si rectâ ratione reputetur, quid aliud  
quam inveteratus error est? Nam qui mihi hoc  
concedunt, 'aliam antiquorum, aliam nostrorum so-  
norum rationem esse;' iidem sanè hoc mihi largi-  
untur quod ego maximè volo, et eum errorem in  
dicendo custodiunt quem ipsi minimè debent retinere.  
Videant enim ne nimia arrogantia sit tantum sibi  
ipsis assumere, ut præ se omnem antiquitatem, om-*



*nes eruditos qui antè fuerunt, velint contemnere. Nam quantum video, hoc unum maximè causam facit, utrùm usus præsens an auctoritas antiquorum plus valere debeat.*

*‘ Ac si usus quidem tantam habet auctoritatem quanta à nonnullis prædicatur, miror cur sit consuetudini academicæ nostræ nihil datum, quæ sic jam aliquot annos invaluit ut omnes, qui Græca legerent vel cognoscerent (præter admodum paucos, qui Græculi videri quàm esse mallerent) hanc nostram emendatam usurparent. Et ea quidem initio suscepta magnam claritatis commendationem, postea etiam utilitatis approbationem habuit; nunc verò etiam tantam suavitatem, ut altera nimis putida nimisque insuavis esse videatur. Et cùm non satis ex usu nostro sit hanc receptam pronuntiandi rationem, quæ se in animos omnium nostrum penè immersit, propter multas opportunitates dimittere; tamen quidam invidiosi conantur eam quasi de gradu dejicere, et auctoritatem tuam ab eâ quantum possunt abalienare. Et in eo ipso, in quo usum commendant, tamen usum nostrum cum utilitate conjunctum, et à veterum auctoritate non abhorrentem, profligare student. At sanè non video cur, si ab antiquorum viâ deflectere liceat, non in hoc nostro quasi in diverticulo quodam amæno conquiescamus.*

*‘ Nam si utilitas quæritur, usus ejus tam latè patet, ut anno plus proficiamus quàm ante biennio profecerimus; et citiùs ad dicendi scribendique facultatem perveniamus, quàm qui longissimum tempus in eâ re consumpserunt. Et hoc aliquot jam annorum experientia sic declaravit, ut pronuntiationem*

*nostram tollere nihil aliud sit quàm facilitatem consequendæ linguæ auferre, et ejus discendæ laborem conduplicare: sin oblectatio; tanta suavitatis in Homérico carmine aut Sophocleo propter sonorum varietatem et numerorum modificationem adfluit, ut nullus musicorum cantus, nullus citharæ pulsus numerosior aut jucundior esse possit. Et hæc consuetudo tam utilis, tam fructuosa, quanquam altè radices egit et seipsam ita profudit ut non modò effloresceret et viriditatem haberet, sed etiam fructus copiosos uberesque ferret; tamen à quibusdam sic attentatur, ut concidi eam atque ad terram adfligi cupiant, et omnes præterea radicum fibras ita extrahi, ut nihil quod in posterum emergere possit relinquatur.*

*Sed ii nimis invidiosi sunt, et alieni mali plus justo appetentes, qui ita commodis nostris anguntur et malis oblectantur, ut incorruptam pronuntiationem quasi in gurgustium aliquod obscurum detrudi et compingi cupiant. Quod nisi hoc contentur ut studia Græcæ linguæ, quæ nunc vigere et florere cæperunt, iterum deprimantur et ad pristinam inscitiam traducantur; non video cur res pacatis et quietas commoverent, et in vitam ac statum suum conquerentem Academiam ad obsoletam jam confusionem revocarent. Atque utinam certè omnes, qui tam vehementer pro usu disputant, quid ex usu potius quàm quid in usu sit constituerent: minùs multo in rebus necessariis queruli rixosique essent, neque aliorum utilitates tantis opibus tantæque animi contentione everterent. Sed consuetudinem Academiae nostræ, quæ tamen aliquem locum apud nos habere debebat, prætermittamus: neque tantum consuetu-*

*dini ubi in Græcis donandis tribuatur, ea ut non auctoritati priscorum cedat: neque tantum nobis, temporibus, hominibus nostris vel urbanitatis vel elegantiae demus, ut non putemus illos ingenii, eloquentiae, disciplinarum, gloriam longè præstitisse.*

\* \* \* \*

At the conclusion of his second Letter, he remarks:

\* \* \* \*

*‘Annon hæc summa γλωσσαλγία est, sic te in dicendo versare, sic torquere, ut cum optima verba, gravissimas sententias, compositam rationem afferas, tamen ea non auditoris culpa, sed rei ipsius confusione implicata intelligi à nemine potest. Et quum ad infinitum immensumque modum laboraveris, omnes labores, sudores susceperis, tamen nihil proficies; in eodem luto hærebis, in eadem rerum confusione versaberis. Quid ita? Quia pronuntiatio perplexa est, obscura est, confusa est, absurda est, contra naturam est. Natura enim hanc vocum perturbationem, quasi vastum aliquod chaos, detestatur; nihilque probat, nisi quod distinctum, illustre, illuminatumque est: et ejusmodi quæ sunt, ea sensuum præsidii ad animum defert. Reliqua si in sensus sexcenties sua sponte incurrant, tamen ab animo nisi ægrè molestèque percipi non possunt: ut in iis inanis quædam inutilisque γλωσσαλγία suscipiatur, quæ ψυχάλγησιαν και αισθησαλγίαν immanem quandam et importabilem secum propter confusionem apportant. Utinam verò λογοδαϊδάλια et sonorum potius extruendorum artificium abs te ad νεθεσίαν elaboratum fuisset, quàm hæc in animo ακαταληψία et in sensibus ωταλγία ad genii tui venditationem laudata celebrataque fuisset! Dicit non potest, quantum dignitatem tuam literarumque amplificasses, et ani-*

*mos studiosorum aurisses simul, et Academiam tuam florentem felicemque retinuisset. Ego vero, quod ad me attinet, quanquam multis de causis beneficium abs te me accepturum esse potius sperabam, quàm ut sic sermone, epistolis, convivioque tuo jactarer; tamen mea causâ quemadmodum possum patior, literarum vero causâ peracerbè et permolestè fero. Et cum medici partes susceperis agendas, illud non molestè ferendum sed lamentandum est, medicinam te neque studiosorum sanitati recuperandæ utilem, neque sensuum perceptionibus suavem, neque tali tamque perito medico qualem te studiorum futurum putabamus, admodum dignam sic fecisse, ut potius ad internecionem literarum venenum offerres, ne linguæ nimis florerent, quàm ut salubritatem linguæ et adjumenta studiorum promoveres, ne studiosi nimis animum desponderent? Nescio autem, quales tandem illi medici vocari debent, qui dum parti con-[queren?]-ti consulunt, totum corpus labefactant. Hoc video, dum populari ventosæque abusûs varietati servire studes, dum quibusdam qualescunque tandem sint morem semper geris, totum Græcæ linguæ corpus omniaque studia nostra in discrimen periculumque vitæ ac salutis vocata penè exanimari. Utinam autem eum diem aliquando videam, cum talem te præstes (qualem ego te fuisse semper arbitrabar) ut non usitatâ studiorum formâ contentus, sed utilissimâ verissimâque ratione delectatus optimam facillimamque eruditionis consequendæ viam nobis invenires, et ad omne literarum genus maximis optimisque cum præ-sidiis animos nostros incenderes, et ad cupiditatem discendi animi tui propensione inflammares. Utinam pro hac mediocritate ingenii, studii, ac ætatis meæ,*

*si nullam magnam beneficentiam (id quod non requiro) saltem verborum benevolentiam, quod exiguum est, consequi possem: aut, si id mins consequerer, ut acerbitatem aliquam dictorum contra me tuorum, quo nihil minus petere possum, interdum saltem velles minuere. Utinam pro magnitudine eruditionis, consilii, auctoritatisque tuæ (id quod in aliis ferè causis facis) sic hâc abusione quæ in consuetudinem cadit relictâ, magis quid antiquum, quid utile, quid præstans, quid distinctum sit, veritatis regulâ non populari licentiâ metireris; nec nimis te ad censum animi tui in iis vulgaribus et pervagatis rebus communibusque accommodes. Multo minùs hoc à me jam peteres ut resipiscerem, qui antè septennium in pronuntiando resipui: nec hoc tantoperè laborares, ut ad Babylonicam hanc confusionem quasi canis ad vomitum redirem; et ego magis distinctè resipiscendo studia juvarem, quàm confuse desipiscendo à te laudarer. Et quum (meâ fortassè culpâ, magis quàm beneficentiâ tuâ) nullum à te unquam quod sciam, nec re nec verbo, beneficium acceperim, à cæteris autem nullo meo merito sed illorum perpetuâ benignitate innumera-bilia capiam; cuperem tamen in primis, quod illi vel gratuitâ quâdam animi inductione erecti, vel parentum meorum amicitiae copulatione commoti, in maximis gravissimisque causis meis perpetuò fecerunt, id vel meâ vel parentum meorum vel literarum vel benignitatis tuæ vel æquitatis causâ hoc mihi minimum seriò petenti in rebus levibus ridiculisque simul concederes. Da mihi hoc primum petenti, ut literarum ingenuarum cursus liber sit; ut quantum auctoritate, quantum rationibus vincere possumus, tantum obtineamus. Da tempori nostro,*

*ut non omne pereat. Da Academiæ nostræ, ut floreat. Da studiosis, ut utilitate maximè expetitâ fruantur. Da omnibus, ut non quanto maximo jure potes auctoritatem tuam interponas, ut de severitate edicti aliquid remittas: ne nostra omnis spes, quæ sublevationem studiorum à te adhuc expectat, inanis irritaque fiat, &c. &c.'*

\* \* \* \*

In reply to this earnest expostulation and entreaty, the Chancellor's next Letter opens, with a changed hand, to check the remonstrant's pride:

*'Magno me ad te scribendi labore levâssent hominum prudentium et amicorum consilia, si illis parere potius quàm affectui meo indulgere in animum inducere potuissem. Divinabant enim futurum non temerariâ ariolatione illi, sed Scripturæ Sacræ admonitione (id quod video accidisse) ut operam omnem et oleum frustra insumerem, dum hominem fastu et arrogantia turgidum, suo judicio (ut Paulus ait) jam subversum, ad sanitatem reducere ratione contenderem et argumentis, quem non nisi ipsâ auctoritate compescere queas. Ego verò, Cheke, non necesse putavi omnia pro meo jure agere; et quam mihi tacitè exprobrabas ignorantiam, aliquâ ex parte purgare volui: ut intelligeres me non tam ex imperio magistratûs, quàm certo animi judicio pronuntiâsse de sonis—sanè, si consilium quis spectet, non omninò imprudenter; si rei exitum et eventum (ut quod verum est fatear) non satis feliciter. Te enim, ut video, commovi non-nihil: causam verò, quam agebam apud te, adeò non promovi quidem, ut quantum ex scriptis conjicere liceat, spiritus illos tuos, quos minuere cupiebam, auctos nonnihil et accumulatos esse intelligam.*

*“ Mihi respondes ad omnia, quare (si licet barbarè loqui) religio est tibi verbum ullum prætermittere meum, ut videtur, sine responso. Maluisti dicendo nihil dicere, quàm tacere. Addam etiam hoc—simplicius fortassè quàm velles, sed verius—græcissat nimium tua loquacitas, linguæ Græcæ Professor: omnia, fide Græcâ, trahis ad calumniam: scriptis nostris sensum affingis gignendis verbis commodum, atque hoc Græcè. Tuorum verborum oblitus, interim ‘debacchari’ (verbum parùm honorificum) mihi adscribis; interim, sed paulò post, ita ais: “ Ego verò me intra modestiæ fines continebo, neque unquam ita loquar, ut dominationi tuæ verbo displicuisse velle videar.” Non satis Græcè; hoc cavisset enim Græcus suum mendacium oblivione prætere, ne tanquam sorax suo iudicio periret. Egone verò in quenquam ‘debacchari’ soleo, vir bone? Scripsisti seorsum, ad meum sacellanum, te modestiæ fines conservasse, ut quodam quasi præiudicio animi meum sensum obtunderes; ne virulentia tuæ venenum, eleganter (ut tu putes) concinno verborum apparatu tectum, persentiscerem. Istæ scilicet sunt tuæ, quibus abundas, doctæ facetiæ, quibus me hominem stolidum et stupidum perstringis, sed ut tu vis urbanè tamen: cùm ego contrà te rusticè aggrediar verbis apertis et rudibus, fastum obiciens et arrogantiam ac impudentiam, atque adeò nunc etiam vanitatem Græcam.*

*“ Confiteor meam in verbis inopiam, Cheke; et vicissim agnosco copiam [tuam]. Res nudas pro meâ facultatulâ profero; et, quod mea acutoritas tuetur, liberè et incunctanter quod sentio eloquor. Veritatem res ipsa confirmat: libertatem defendit mei muneris prærogativa, quam tu sine arrogantia*



*et fastu non ferendo imitari non queas, sed tanquam parenti aut patrono cum honorem haberes, quem leges tum divinæ tum humanæ decreverunt; hoc est, ut rem verbis temperares, et rei atrocitatem (si quam facti veritas suggereret) orationis modestiâ mitigares tamen. Hoc, si quid tibi est judicii, me tacente persperisses, aut me admonente didicisses tandem, nec pari mecum jure contendere ausus esses: videlicet ut quæ mihi libertas in te competeret, eandem rursum in me tuo jure vendicares, et in dignitatis meæ nomen tam petulanter luderes. Quo sanè modo existimationem tuam sartam tectam jure concervasses; cum contra nunc dum eam ruta mæsam, accitis per inscitiam vocabulis, dicere voluisti.*

\* \* \* \*

The concluding Letter of the series, however, in answer to the renewed intercessions of the softened Professor, is in a somewhat milder and more courteous strain:

*‘Quod à me per literas tam vehementer efflagitas, Cheke, si ejusmodi esset in quo tibi aliquo tuo cum commodo sine omni existimationis meæ jacturâ satisfacerem, facile concederet precibus tuis ingenii mei indoles, in humanitatem et benignitatem semper propensa. Neque enim in vitâ hominum jucundius quicquam benevolentia ducō. Ac omnium, si fieri posset, animos et amores datâ ad hoc operâ conciliaverim: adeo nec labores nec sumptus effugiam, curasve detrectem, quibus hominum in me studia flectere mihiq̃e adjungere posse sperem. Et utinam durum modò esset quod petis, ut meam benevolentiam non frustra pericliteris. Sed dum tuo affectui obsequeris, quid me fiat (ut ille inquit) negligis.*



*Quid tandem, obsecro, de me homines aut loquentur aut sentient, qui edictum in publicam studiorum utilitatem publicâ auctoritate atque adeo jurisdictionis perpetuæ causâ propositum in gratiam privati, precibus videlicet delinitus, abrogem atque rescindam? Si non est publicè utile id ut facerem, egone precibus darem locum, magistratus publicus? Sin est, haud potest honestè tibi concedi, quod publicæ utilitati fuit denegatum.*

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—“*Si non iis radicibus, firmis illis et robustis, et publicâ præterea utilitate tanquam pedamento niteretur edictum, evellissent id haud dubiè ex animo meo suavi verborum structurâ concinnatæ preces. Quam meam facilitatem utinam velis imitari. Et quod tibi præstare non integrum modò, sed etiam cum laude conjunctum sit, id precibus meis velis annuere. Quem enim olim præfractum et contumacem edicto pro auctoritate compescere visum fuit, eundem nunc mitiorem et modestiorem factum orare, obsecrare, et obtestari non gravabor, ut omissâ contentione de sonis (re frivola et inutili) seriis studiis operam dare velis, et nominis tui famam solidioribus fundamentis exædificare. Nihil potest habere firmi, mihi crede, sonus, utqui nullâ unquam in linguâ idem potuit diu consistere. Et pereat, si vis, memoria eorum quæ scripsimus, unâ cum sonorum controversiâ. Ego officium, quod offero, libenter amplector. Et ita te mihi putabo officiosissimum, si eandem mecum persuasionem indueris, non expedire in sonis ab aliis dissidere; non modò quia novum et invidiosum, sed etiam quia arrogans quiddam habet et contentiosum, usui et destinato studiorum fini apprimè inutile et impedi-*

*mento futurum. De meâ humanitate cæterâ fac  
cùm voles periculum, nec te tentâsse pœnitebit.  
Vale.'*

And thus ended the celebrated correspondence between these two memorable disputants; in which the advocate of error appears to have thought it entitled to continue, not from it's antiquity (for antiquity, it was the object of his antagonist to demonstrate, was wholly in favour of the opposite theory) but because it existed! A similar mode of argumentation, *mutatis mutandis*, he pursued in regard to a much more important Reformation; and he was encountered, by similar reasoning, with equal success. But he was less gentle, alas! in his enforcement of it, in the latter instance. Interest combined with passion and prejudice, when the abuses of his church were to be defended; and interest summoned Smithfield, though in vain, to her support.

## CARDINAL POLE.\*

[1500—1558.]

**REGINALD POLE** was a younger son of Sir Richard Pole Lord Montagu, K. G., and cousin to Henry VIII. by Margaret his mother, daughter of George Duke of Clarence younger brother to Edward IV. He was born at Stoverton-Castle in Staffordshire, in the year 1500; and about the age of twelve was sent to Magdalen College in Oxford, where an apartment was provided for him in the President's lodgings. The celebrated Linacre and William Latimer, two of the greatest masters of those times in the Greek and Latin tongues, were his principal preceptors; and his progress under them was proportional to their eminence, and their anticipations.

In 1517, he was made Prebendary of Roscomb, in the church of Salisbury; to which the deanery of Exeter, and other valuable preferments, were added about two years afterward. But he did not, as most writers have asserted, take orders.

At the age of nineteen, it was determined to send

\* **AUTHORITIES.** Beccatelli's *Life of Pole by Pye*, Thuanus, Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, Phillips' *Life of Pole*, Ridley's *Review of Phillips*, Neve's *Animadversions on Phillips*, and *British Biography*.

him for farther improvement to Italy, where the liberal arts and sciences then flourished. For this purpose, an establishment suitable to his rank was provided by the King, who allowed him a liberal yearly pension, in addition to the income of his ecclesiastical preferments.

To Italy he was accompanied by several learned Englishmen, beside a proper retinue of attendants, and after visiting many foreign Universities he settled at Padua; where his house quickly became the resort of the most eminent literati of the age. Of these, the most distinguished were Bembo, Sadolet, Longolieu, and Lupset a learned Englishman, whom he took into his family, and by whose recommendation Erasmus opened a friendly correspondence with the high-born student. The professors, knowing how nearly he was related to the King of England, strenuously exerted themselves to complete his education; and as they likewise partook of his noble liberality, they were not sparing of encomiums on his genius and accomplishments, proclaiming every where that their pupil was an honour to themselves and an ornament to the university. From Padua he went to Venice, where he continued some time, after which he visited other parts of Italy.

Having spent five years abroad, he was called home; but being extremely desirous to see the jubilee, which was celebrated at Rome in 1525, he made a tour to that city; whence passing by Florence, he returned to England before the expiration of the year, and was received with the utmost respect by the court and the nobility. Devotion however and study being his sole delights, he retired to the convent of the Carthusians at Sheen in Surrey, where he had received the rudiments of his education;

having obtained from his Sovereign a grant of the apartment which the deceased Dr. Colet had built for his own use.

In this retirement he had spent two years with great satisfaction, when Henry VIII. began to start scruples about the lawfulness of his marriage with Queen Katharine. Pole, foreseeing the troubles which this incident would probably occasion to himself, if he remained in the kingdom, resolved to withdraw; and, accordingly, obtained his Majesty's leave to visit Paris in 1529. Here, carrying some learned persons in his train, he passed his time in literary ease; till the King, in prosecution of his divorce, sending to the most celebrated foreign academies for their opinion upon his case, commanded him to assist his agents in procuring the subscription and seal of the University of Paris to the illegality of the marriage.

Pole, being (as it subsequently appeared) of the contrary opinion, excused himself in reply by stating, that 'his studies had lain another way.' At this Henry was so much displeased, that when his kinsman not long afterward returned home, he was strongly urged to clear himself of the imputation of disloyalty. Having averted the storm for the time by his submission, he retired to his former solitude at Sheen.

When it was subsequently determined to decide the cause in question independently of the Pope, as Pole was universally esteemed for his learning and piety, and was besides of the blood royal, it was conceived that his consent would be of great service in influencing the concurrence of others. To gain this, therefore, no means were left untried: even

the see of York, at that time vacant, was offered to his acceptance. Pressed upon every side, he repaired to the King, with a design to give him satisfaction; but his conscience checking him the moment he was about to speak, he was not able for some time to utter a word. Recovering at length, he quitted his former purpose, and delivered his sentiments with such spirit and eloquence against the divorce, that Henry with a countenance full of anger put his hand to his dagger: but instantly checking himself, he only said, "I will consider of your opinion, and you shall have my answer." He never, however, sent for him more. Pole apprehending farther danger, if he should continue in England, obtained permission once more to go abroad: and his Majesty was so far satisfied at the moment, that for some years he continued his pension.

The first place he visited was Avignon, in France, at that time under the jurisdiction of the Pope. Here he continued unmolested for the space of a year; but finding the air disagree with his constitution, he exchanged it for Padua, where he again fixed his residence, only making occasional excursions to Venice.

He had now been a considerable time abroad, and Henry had frequently intimated his desire that he would return: but after sundry excuses, he at length informed his Majesty by letter, that he approved neither of his divorce, nor of his separation from the holy see. The King, in reply, transmitted him a book written in England by Dr. Sampson, in support of his supremacy, and required his opinion in answer to it. Upon this, Pole composed his famous sophistical treatise, entitled *De Unitate Ecclesias-*

*ticd*; in which he condemned Henry's actions, exalted the papal above the royal authority, compared his Majesty to Nebuchadnezzar, and concluded with an address to the Emperor, conjuring him to 'turn his arms rather against the King of England than the Turk.'

Henry, concealing his resentment, required him, all excuses apart, to return immediately home, that he might confer with him on the subject both of his book and of his letters, which required farther explanation. But this 'angel of peace,' as he is stiled by Phillips,\* had no inclination, it appears, to die a martyr in the Pope's cause; and therefore, taking warning by the fate of More and Fisher, he peremptorily refused: upon which the King withdrew his pensions, deprived him of his preferments, and not long afterward procured an act of attainder to be passed against him.

The attachment constantly shown by Pole to the papal interest, and his misfortunes consequent thereon, made it expedient that the Pontiff should publicly, by some signal honour, testify his approbation of his conduct. Accordingly he was summoned to Rome, as the representative of England in a General Council to be held for the reformation of abuses, not in the doctrine (for that they deemed sacred, and incapable of error) but in the administration of the affairs of the church. Upon his arrival, in 1536, he was lodged in the papal palace, and treated with the utmost respect. His Holiness immediately proposed to make him a cardinal; but Pole, who designed to secure to himself the crown of England by

\* A modern Popish writer of his life.

marrying the Princess Mary, remonstrating against this promotion, the Pope appeared to acquiesce: the next day however he insisted on his obedience, and Pole, who had not yet received the clerical tonsure, submitted to this ceremony (says Beccatelli, who was present) "with as much reluctance as the lamb to the shearing-knife." After which, he was created cardinal-deacon of St. Nereus and Achilleus. His Holiness then appointed him Nuncio to the courts of France and Flanders, that he might be the better enabled, from the vicinity of his residence, to correspond with the Roman Catholics in England, and to sustain the declining interests of the papacy in that country.

At Paris, he was honourably received by the King: but there he did not long remain; for Henry sending to demand him of the French Monarch, he removed to Cambray, and placed himself under the protection of the Bishop. This however was no place of safety for him, as from the war between France and the Empire, in which Henry bore a part, English soldiers were continually harassing the district; and a price having been set upon his head, he was exposed to imminent danger, if he should fall into their hands. He chose Liege for his next residence, in consequence of an invitation from Erardus the cardinal-bishop, who received him with brotherly kindness. There he continued about three months, expecting that the Emperor and the King of France would fulfil their engagements with him, by fomenting the disturbances excited among the English Catholics; but this project failing, he was recalled to Rome.

While thus employed in holding correspondence



with Henry's rebellious subjects, and grossly abusing him in his publications, Pole complained to the Pope and the French Nuncio, of the barbarous conduct of that Monarch in proclaiming him a traitor and setting a price upon his head: and, though in the same letters he confessed his treasonable designs, he had the duplicity to write to Lord Cromwell, to acquit himself of the charge of disloyalty. This, surely, is highly inconsistent with the character given him by Phillips, who makes his piety and sincerity his chief virtues.

At the close of the year 1538, his Holiness concluding that the bulls of excommunication and deposition, which he had published against Henry, would incline his subjects to break out into another rebellion, despatched the Cardinal a second time in disguise to France and Flanders, upon his former sanctified errand. But this scheme being counterworked by the English Sovereign, Pole met with a cool reception from his Imperial Majesty; upon which he returned by the same road to Avignon, and being directed by his employer to continue in those parts, took the opportunity of making a visit at Carpentras to his beloved friend Cardinal Jacob Sadolet; with whom he spent six months. After subsequently passing some time at Verona with Gilbert Bishop of that see, he was appointed Legate to Viterbo near Rome, in which station he continued till 1542; when the Pope, having summoned the Council of Trent, appointed him with the Cardinals Paris and John Morone to attend there on his behalf. As the Council however could not then assemble, on account of the wars which arose in Germany and other Christian states, Pole returned to Viterbo. Between this place and Rome

he divided his residence, following his studies in great tranquillity till the year 1545, when the Pope issued a second citation for holding the Council at the same place, and re-appointed him, in conjunction with two different cardinals, to his former office. Pole's journey being delayed, upon the pretext that Henry had employed his emissaries to seize him on the road,\* his colleagues arrived at Trent long before him. At this time, he wrote a 'Treatise on the nature and end of General Councils:' and at length he repaired to Trent, escorted, wherever danger was apprehended, by a detachment of the papal cavalry. The "solemn banter," as Lord Bolingbroke phrases it, of the Council of Trent being transferred to Bononia, after an opposition from the Imperial ambassador, Pole (who had been obliged to retire to Padua, on account of ill health) strenuously defended the Pope's right to remove it, in the year 1546.

Soon after Henry's death, by an extraordinary exertion of zealous audacity, he wrote a letter to the English regency and council, advising them to reconcile the kingdom to the Pope, assuring them that the kingdom would otherwise be exposed to imminent dangers, and adding that 'his Holiness was willing, in charity to their souls, to send him over to remedy their evils.' He, likewise, addressed a written justification of himself to Edward VI. But the council disregarding both his solicitations and his menaces,

\* To account for his just alarms, it is necessary to state, that his mother Margaret Countess of Salisbury, his eldest brother Henry Pole Lord Montagu, the Marquis of Exeter, Sir Edward Nevil, and Sir Nicholas Carew, had been executed in England for high-treason, in conspiring to place the Cardinal upon the throne.



he gave the nation no farther trouble during that short reign.

Paul III. dying in 1549, Pole was twice chosen to succeed him: but he declined both the elections; one, as being too hasty and without deliberation, and the other, because it was done in the middle of the night.\* This conduct has been ascribed by Phillips, and others, to delicacy; but it's true cause was his prospect of the crown of England, which he trusted to ascend by gaining the hand of the Princess Mary. Upon his refusal, Julius III. was elected; and the tranquillity of Rome being soon afterward disturbed by the wars on the borders of Italy, Pole retired, with the new Pope's leave, to a monastery of the Benedictines at Maguzano in the territory of Verona.

In this retirement he continued, till the death of Edward VI.; when it was determined by the court of Rome, that he should be sent legate into England, as the fittest instrument to effect the reduction of that kingdom under the papal yoke. But this undertaking required some consideration. The act of attainder, passed against him under Henry VIII., had been confirmed by Edward, and consequently remained still in force. At length however, having received full satisfaction upon these points, he set out, by the way of Germany, in October 1553: but he had not proceeded far in the Emperor's dominions, when a message arrived from that Prince, to stop his farther progress. This was speedily followed by

\* He desired, that 'his admission might be deferred till the morning, as it was not a work of darkness!' Upon this, the cardinals instantly proceeded to another election, and chose the Cardinal De Monte, who before he left the conclave, bestowed a bat upon the servant employed in taking care of his monkey!

an express, to the same purpose, from Queen Mary ; who, with the view however of keeping him in good humour, sent him the two acts recently passed, for the justification of her mother's marriage, and for restoring all things to the state in which they had been left at her father's death ; desiring him likewise to transmit her a list of such persons, as should be made bishops.

The Cardinal, perceiving that the real object in both instances was, to prevent his arriving in England before the Queen's marriage with Philip, felt himself not a little nettled ; and in a letter to her Majesty observed, that ' the check to his journey obviously proceeding from the political views of the emperor, he had conferred with the Imperial confessor about it, and had convinced him of the impropriety of such a measure : with respect to herself, he added, he was ' afraid that carnal pleasures might govern her too much, and that she would thereby fall from the simplicity in Christ, in which she had hitherto lived.' He encouraged her, therefore, to ' put on a spirit of wisdom and courage, and to trust in God, who had preserved her so long.' With regard to the two acts, he complained that ' the first made no mention of the Pope's bulls, by the authority of which alone it could be a lawful marriage ; and he observed with concern in the other, that the worship of God and the sacraments were to continue as they had been in the last year of Henry's reign, since the English were then in a state of schism, the Pope's interdict still lying upon the nation, under which no one could without sin either administer or receive them.' He confessed, ' he knew none of either House fit to propose the matter of rejecting the supremacy, which had

been usurped by her father, and her brother; and, therefore, he thought it best that she herself should go to the parliament (having previously acquainted some few, both of the spirituality and the temporality, with her design) and inform them, that she was afflicted at the schism, and desired a Legate might be sent from the Apostolic See to treat about it.' He proposed also, farther, the reversion of his own attainder.

But the projected marriage meeting with great opposition in England, it was resolved that Pole should be kept at a distance. With this view, another legation was devised for him, to mediate a peace between the empire and France, in which he was unsuccessful. The nuptials between Philip and Mary being at length solemnised, no farther objection was made to his arrival; and, therefore, the Lords Paget and Hastings were sent to Brussels to conduct him to England. On the twentieth of November, 1554, he was met at Dover by the Bishop of Ely, Lord Montagu, and other persons of distinction. At Gravesend, the Bishop of Durham and the Earl of Shrewsbury presented him with the repeal of the act of his attainder, which had passed the day before. A yacht conveyed him thence to Whitehall, where he was treated with the utmost respect by their Majesties; and, after all possible honour paid to him at court, he was conducted to the archiepiscopal palace at Lambeth, which had been sumptuously fitted up for his reception.

On the twenty-seventh, he went to the parliament, and made a long and grave speech, inviting them to a reconciliation with the Apostolic See, whence (he said) ' he had been sent by the common pastor of Christendom to recover the lost sheep, who had long

strayed from the enclosure of the church.' This speech produced a pretended miracle on the part of the Queen, who affected not only to be pregnant, but also from her joy upon the occasion to feel the child leap within her; upon which *Te Deum* was ordered to be sung in all the churches in London, and Bonner caused prayers to be put up, that the child might be a male, well-favoured, vigorous, and intelligent. No farther proof can be wanting of the wretched bigotry of Mary, who thus set an example for restoring the obsolete frauds of the popish hierarchy.

Two days afterward, the Speaker reported to the Commons the substance of this speech; and a message being sent from the Lords for a conference, in order to prepare a supplication upon the subject, the petition was reported and approved by both Houses; upon which, their Majesties interceded with the Cardinal, who granted them absolution. The papal authority being thus completely restored, Pole made his public entry into London with all the solemnities of a Legate, and immediately set about purging the church of her pretended heresy. But though these proceedings gave great satisfaction to the court, he had the mortification to find that they were less popular elsewhere: in passing through the city, no kind of respect was shown to him; and his blessing the people, as he passed, was openly laughed at. This, probably, soured his temper; which, it is stated, was naturally mild and amiable. It has likewise been asserted, that he advised moderate measures with respect to the Protestants: but one of the first acts, indubitably, of his legatine authority was, to grant commissions for the prosecutions of heretics; and he publicly expressed his detesta-

tion of the Reformed, refusing to converse with any who had been of that party. He now, indeed, put on the pride and reserve of a Spanish inquisitor. His instructions likewise, issued to the bishops and clergy concerning the Protestants, plainly evince, that he was at the bottom of the sanguinary proceedings of Gardiner and Bonner, though he made those prelates the instruments of his cruelty and his revenge.

In the mean time, the Queen despatched ambassadors to Rome to make obedience, in the name of the whole kingdom, to the Pope, who had already proclaimed a jubilee upon the occasion. But her envoys had scarcely set foot on Italian ground, when they were informed of the death of Julius III. His successor (Marcellus II.) dying soon afterward, the Queen, upon the first intelligence of his decease, recommended her kinsman to the popedom. Her messengers, however, arrived too late, Peter Caraffa, who took the name of Paul IV., having been elected before they reached the conclave. This Pope, who had never liked Pole, found in the Bishop of Winchester a temper exactly tallying with his own; and, upon that account, favoured Gardiner's pretensions to the see of Canterbury.

Pole, nevertheless, had the entire management of ecclesiastical affairs; and from this period the persecution became more violent, and the martyrdoms more numerous. In proof of which let it be remembered, that Gardiner, who secretly detested him, transferred the bloody business to Bonner\*

\* Edmund Bonner was the reputed son of a lawyer in Cheshire; but his mother was pregnant by one Savage, a priest, and had only married to conceal her disgrace. Being designed for the church, he studied at Broadgate-Hall, now Pembroke College,

upon the Cardinal's arrival; and that three months after Gardiner's death Cranmer was degraded and burnt, to make room for Pole in the primacy.\* The hottest period, indeed, of Bonner's persecution was from December 1555 to December 1556, when the Cardinal was in the zenith of his power.

The year 1557 opened with a ridiculous farce, attached to the tragedy which was now acting in all

Oxford, and was created LL. D. in 1525; but he never attained any eminence in learning, having rather a turn for state-affairs. This recommended him to Wolsey, and after his death to Henry VIII. through Cromwell, upon whom he imposed himself as a friend to the Reformation. Henry wanting an ambassador, who could talk in a menacing stile to the Pope and the King of France, selected Bonner: but he so far exceeded the bounds of common decency at Marseilles, in delivering the royal appeal, that his Holiness threatened to 'throw him into a caldron of melted lead, or to burn him alive;' upon which, he made his escape. Soon afterward, behaving with extreme insolence to Francis I., that Monarch bade him write to his employer, "That his ambassador was a great fool, and that if it were not for the love of his master, he should have a hundred strokes with a halbert." Upon this, he was recalled. Henry however, finding him a pliant tool for every occasion, made him at first Bishop of Hereford, and subsequently translated him to the See of London in 1539, when the Bloody Articles were to be enforced. And now the pretended Protestant showed himself in his true colours; his cruelties continuing till the accession of Edward, when he openly complied with the injunctions respecting the Reformation, while at the same time he fomented in secret the insurrections of the Papists. He was therefore deprived, and committed to the Marshalsea, till Queen Mary in 1553 restored him to his former dignity. From this time, his inhumanity was exercised in the most shocking atrocities. He had even a dungeon, and instruments of torture, in his own house; and he took an infernal pleasure in punishing the unfortunate people in his custody with his own hands.

\* He was made Archbishop of Canterbury the day after Cranmer's execution, and before the end of the same year (1556) Chancellor of Oxford and Cambridge.



parts of the kingdom. At Oxford, the body of Peter Martyr's wife was taken up, and underwent a process: but as she was a foreigner, unacquainted with the English language, no witnesses could be brought to prove her a heretic; and therefore the body, by Pole's order, was re-interred in a dunghill. At Cambridge, the bodies of Bucer and Fagius being buried in St. Mary's and St. Michael's churches, those churches were put under an interdict, and a formal process was commenced against the deceased. They were thrice summoned to appear, or any persons in their behalf. These citations proving fruitless! witnesses were examined against them: they were condemned, as obstinate heretics; and their bodies, dug up and carried in their coffins, were tied to the stake and along with copies of their books consumed to ashes!

But though the Cardinal thus countenanced every absurd and cruel measure in favour of the Romish faith, Paul IV. openly showed his dislike of him by revoking his legatine power, and conferring it upon Peyto, a Franciscan friar, whom he had created a cardinal for that purpose, designing him also for the see of Salisbury. This appointment was made in September, and the new Legate was actually on his way to England, when the bulls reached Queen Mary; who, having learned their contents from her ambassador, laid them up without opening them, or acquainting her cousin with the matter: writing at the same time in his behalf to the Pope, and with a portion of her father's spirit forbidding Peyto to 'proceed on his journey, or at his peril to set foot upon English ground.'

Notwithstanding all her caution, however, it was

not possible to keep the matter long a secret from the Cardinal; who no sooner became acquainted with the Holy Father's pleasure, than out of that implicit veneration, which he had unalterably preserved for the Apostolic See, he voluntarily laid down the ensigns of his legatine power: despatching his trusty minister Ormaneto to Rome with letters, at once so satisfactory and so submissive, as (it is said) even melted the obdurate heart of Paul. The Pontiff had, in fact, been mitigated by some recent events, which turned his regard from the French toward the Spaniards: and the storm against Pole entirely blew over, in consequence of a peace concluded this year between his Holiness and Philip; in one of the secret articles of which it was stipulated, that 'he should be restored to his legatine powers.' But he did not live to enjoy his restoration full twelve months, being seized with a double quartan ague, which carried him off early in the morning of the eighteenth of November, 1558.

His death is said to have been hastened by that of his royal mistress and kinswoman, which happened about sixteen hours before, in the forty-third year of her age, and the sixth of her reign. His body, enclosed in a leaden coffin, lay forty days in great state at Lambeth; after which it was conveyed with equal pomp to Canterbury, and interred with the utmost solemnity on the north side of St. Becket's Chapel, in that cathedral. Upon the tomb over his grave were inscribed only, as sufficient to his fame, *Depositum Cardinalis Poli*.

His character is summed up by Granger in a few words: "He was much esteemed for the integrity of his life, the elegance of his learning, and

the politeness of his manners." "He was not, indeed, without a tincture of bigotry; but he, generally, disapproved! of the cruelties exercised in Mary's reign."

## ROGER ASCHAM.\*

[1515—1568.]

**W**E are now entering upon one of the most splendid periods of English history. In 1558, Elizabeth ascended the throne; a Queen personally endowed with great talents for government, and happily surrounded by men of distinguished eminence, equally qualified to serve their country in every department of the church and the state.†

Of these, the first entitled to grateful remembrance, for the share which he had in forming the mind of that illustrious Sovereign, is Roger Ascham, third son of John Ascham,‡ steward to the ancient family of

\* **AUTHORITIES.** Graunt's *Oration* in honour of Ascham, prefixed to his *Epistles*, and Johnson's *Life of Ascham*.

† To this brilliant æra no less than seventy-four poets are assigned in the new edition of the '*Theatrum Poetarum*,' and the catalogue might certainly be farther extended. Of these, however, the far greater number have been very generally consigned to oblivion; and a few, such as Drayton, Fairfax, Warner, Sir John Harrington, Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Walter Raleigh, &c. continue to be cited chiefly in deference to their ancient reputation: but Shakspeare, Jonson, Fletcher, and Spenser, are still confessed to be unrivalled in their several stiles of composition.

‡ His mother Margaret, who was allied to several considerable families, is said to have lived sixty-seven years in perfect har-

Scroop. He was born at Kirkby-Wiske,\* near Northallerton in Yorkshire, about the year 1515; and, in his early youth, was taken under the patronage of Sir Antony Wingfield, who finding in him a signal aptitude for literary attainments, sent him in 1530 to St. John's College, Cambridge, at the critical juncture when Greek began to be taught without opposition in the English universities. The doctrines of Luther, circulated throughout Europe by the intervention of the new art of typography, had diffused a general inclination to study the points in controversy between the Romish church and that illustrious Reformer, which could only be satisfactorily done by attaining a competent knowledge of that language. Accordingly, to Greek Ascham applied himself so assiduously, that he was quickly able to read lectures upon it with great credit and success. To teach, or to learn, was at this æra the business and the pleasure of the academical life; and he had the happiness of associating with men of equal genius, and of similar dispositions with himself. Sir John Cheke, Preceptor to Edward VI., was his rival and friend. This distinguished scholar, as it has already been stated more at large in his Life, in conjunction with Sir Thomas Smith (Secretary of State in the reigns of

mony and affection with the object of her maiden choice, and to have died at last almost on the same hour of the same day.

\* Kirkby-Wiske is stated, in a note to Graunt's *Oratio de Vitâ et Obitu Rogeri Aschami* (prefixed to his edition of the Epistles) to have been distinguished by the family likewise of Palliser Archbishop of Cashel, and by the birth of Dr. George Hickes, as he himself informs us in his 'Dissertation on the Use of the Northern Languages,' addressed to his friend Shower in his *Thesaurus*.

Edward VI., and Elizabeth) had introduced a more correct pronunciation of the Greek tongue\* than had previously prevailed; which Ascham at first op-

\* This language was, previously, little understood in England. If any indeed saw a piece of Greek, they used to say, *Græcum est, non potest legi*, i. e. 'It is Greek, it cannot be read.' And those few, that did pretend to some insight into it, read it after a strange corrupt manner; pronouncing the vowels and diphthongs so, that there was little or no difference between them. These errors Cheke detected, partly by considering the power of the letters themselves, and partly by consulting with Greek authors, Aristophanes and others, in some of whom they found footsteps to direct them how the ancient Greek was pronounced; and he, at length, succeeded in exploding them. The more studious and ingenious sort of scholars, being convinced (says Strype) gladly forsook their old way of reading Greek for this most right and true, though new found out, shown them by their learned reader. But there was a party in the university, who disliking any thing that was new, and dreading alterations, and blindly admitting every thing that was old, would by no means allow of this pronunciation; but opposed it with all their might by disputing against it, and at last by complaining to Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, the Chancellor of the University, against Cheke and his adherents for this great misdemeanor: who being of the same mind with the complainants, and fearing innovation more than was need, made a solemn decree dated the Kalends of June 1542, confirming the old corrupt sounding of Greek; and directing, under severe penalties, 'that none should philosophise at all in sounds, but all use the present, and that if any thing were to be corrected in them, let it all be left to authority!'—But whatever opposition of injunctions, decrees, and penalties were made against it, yet as it was said of truth, 'It is great and will prevail,' so this true way of speaking and reading Greek got the day in the university. And those that were the greatest ornaments of learning then in Cambridge, Redman, Smith, Ponet, Pickering, Ascham, Tong, Bill, and all others, who either read any thing publicly in the schools, or privately in the colleges, gave themselves wholly to this correct way. (Strype's *Life of Cheke*.)

posed, till being convinced that they were in the right, he finally adopted and patronised it from the chair. He gained likewise the approbation of Dr. Metcalf, the master of his college, who (though meanly learned himself) having the interest of learning at heart, recommended him to a fellowship in 1534. This however, from the favourable disposition which he had discovered toward the Reformed Faith, he obtained with difficulty! At the same time Pember, an eminent promoter of Greek literature, advanced his reputation, not only by applauding his public lectures,\* but by advising the under-graduates of his acquaintance to attend him at his chambers, to hear the authors in that language read and explained. As a relaxation from study, Ascham learned to play on musical instruments, and to write a very fine hand (an accomplishment then growing into repute) which contributed not a little to his future success in life.

In 1536 he took the degree of M. A., and soon afterward was appointed by the University teacher of Greek in the public schools, for which he received a respectable salary. He likewise commenced tutor, and had several young students of rank placed under his care for other branches of education, some of whom subsequently became eminent scholars; particularly William Grindal, recommended by Sir John Cheke to be master of languages to the Princess Elizabeth.

\* Pember assured his young friend, that 'upon the maxim, *Qui docet discit*, he would gain more knowledge by reading with a boy a single fable in Æsop, than by hearing another read Latin lectures on the whole Iliad.' Ascham studied Cicero and Cæsar in particular, as the best models in forming his Latin stile.

The reputation of Mr. Ascham, as a man of extensive learning, was now so firmly established, that he was elected to the honourable office of Public Orator. This imposed upon him the duty of composing the university-letters, for which by his skill in the Latin language, and his beautiful writing embellished with drawings, he was peculiarly qualified. But in all ages and in every country conspicuous merit, while it meets with its due reward from the liberal mind, will inevitably incur the hatred of the selfish and the envious. It is no wonder, therefore, that Ascham should have subjected himself to censure for the exercise of his leisure-hours. His love of archery, an amusement better suited to the soldier than the scholar, exposed him to severe animadversion. This, however, he repelled by a learned treatise, published in 1544, entitled 'Toxophilus, or the Schole or Partitions of Shooting,' and dedicated to Henry VIII. ;\* who was so well pleased with it, that on the suggestion of Sir William Paget he allowed him thenceforward an annual stipend of ten pounds.† With this, and his university-stipends, he appears to have possessed a very comfortable income ; in addition to the gratuities which he received for teaching persons of distinction to write, particularly

\* Of this dedication the object was, to obtain a pension, which might enable him to travel into Italy, at that time the residence of literature in general, and more eminently the seat of Greek learning.

† This, Johnson by a somewhat prolix investigation estimates as equivalent to "more than one hundred pounds a-year" at present. The work itself is rather whimsical, as the writer seems to think the complete archer ought to have no less a compass of knowledge than he possessed himself!



Prince Edward, the Princess Elizabeth, and the two brothers Henry and Charles Brandon, Dukes of Suffolk.\*

And now approached the great event of the Reformation, by which the objects of literary study were entirely changed. The breaking up of the old religion split the world into a variety of hostile sects. The Bible being at last thrown open, every man, whether learned or unlearned, was eager to familiarise himself with its contents, and ambitious of elucidating its difficulties. All were absorbed in religious speculations. Europe exhibited one vast scene of polemical warfare; and the talents of mankind were monopolised by theological contention. The topics, which generally kindled the ardour of the most accomplished scholars, were inquiries into the practices and maxims of the primitive ages; the nature of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction; the authority of Scripture and tradition, of popes, and councils, and schoolmen; topics, which from prejudice and passion, as well as from the want of philosophic habits of discussion, they were unable to treat either with calmness or with accuracy.

One of the first effects of the Reformation was, that the revenues of the clergy were seized under pretence of zeal for religion. Even the students of the universities were deprived of their exhibitions and pensions! Hence Ascham complains, in a letter to the Marquis of Northampton, dated 1550, that 'the grammar-schools throughout England would be

\* Lee Archbishop of York, likewise, allowed him a yearly pension. (Johnson.)

ruined; and that the Universities themselves must speedily become extinct.' At Oxford, both professors and pupils deserted the schools; and academical degrees were abolished as anti-christian. The new teachers, not content with cleansing Christianity from Catholic corruptions, carried their absurd refinements so far as to assert the inutility of all human learning; and thus reformation degenerated into fanaticism. In this enlightened spirit, these zealous advocates for apostolic simplicity and primitive ignorance, at a visitation of the University of Oxford, stripped the Humphredian library of all its books and MSS., many of which were totally destroyed, and of the rest a great number condemned as inimical to the Gospel of Christ!

Yet, notwithstanding these untoward circumstances, the Reformation was an event perhaps more auspicious to human improvement than any, which adorns the annals of time. It produced, beyond all other causes that can be imagined, intellectual activity, that harbinger of free inquiry, which is the only sure cause of the progress of society. A change of manners in the church was the instantaneous result. The clergy, unable to prevail by force, were compelled to try argument; and their state of ignorance vanished. The Jesuits, who succeeded the friars as champions of the papal hierarchy, sprang up during the struggle; and thus Rome had, once more, its age of learning.

This general state of mental excitement, however unfavourable in the first instance to the Belles Lettres, was eventually conducive in a high degree to the advancement of literature. The minds of men were awake

and active; and required only to be favoured by their political condition to exert some of the highest efforts of intellect.

Upon the accession of Edward VI. his pension, which had been stopped at Henry's death, was re-granted; and he was desired to continue at Cambridge to promote the cause of the Reformation, in conjunction with his friend Bucer, the German divine, who had been invited by that University to fill the divinity-chair. But the death of Grindal brought him to court to attend the Princess Elizabeth, whose Latin and Greek studies he by her own appointment directed for two years. Taking umbrage however at some ill-founded rumours maliciously propagated against him, he abruptly quitted the court in disgust, returned to the University, and resumed his office of Public Orator.

In 1550, being upon a visit in Yorkshire, he received intelligence that he was appointed secretary to Sir Richard Morisine, who was then preparing to set out on an embassy to Charles V., Emperor of Germany. This promotion obliging him to proceed immediately to London, on his way he visited Lady Jane Grey, at her father's house at Broadgate in Leicestershire. He found her studying the *Phædo* of Plato in Greek, and "that (he adds) with as much delight, as some gentlemen would read a merry tale in Boccace;" and he discovered such learning and good sense in her conversation, that he pronounces her in his works 'the wonder of her sex.' \*

\* The treatment of that incomparable lady by her father and mother, the Duke and Duchess of Suffolk, as she related it to Ascham, is shocking almost beyond credibility :

' After salutation (says he) and dewtie done, with some other

During his three years' attendance upon the German embassy, he cultivated the acquaintance of the learned in that country, and applied himself to the investigation of politics, which made him extremely useful to his principal. Yet neither the concerns of his station, nor his assiduity in reading the Greek au-

taulke, I asked her, 'Why she would leese such pastime in the parke?' Smiling, she answered me; "I wiste, all their sport in the parke is but a shadoe to that pleasure that I find in Plato. Alas! good folke, they never felt what trewe pleasure ment." "And howe came you, Madame," quoth I, "to this deepe knowledge of pleasure; and what did chieffie allure you unto it, seeinge not many women, but verie fewe men, have attained thereunto?" "I will tell you," quoth she, "and tell you a truth, which perchance ye will marvell at. One of the greatest benefites that ever God gave me is, that he sent me so sharpe and severe parentes, and so jentle a scholemaster. For when I am in presence eyther of father or mother; whether I speake, keepe silence, sit, stand, or go, eate, drinke, be merie, or sad, be sowing, playing, dauncing, or doing anie thing else, I must do it as it were in such weight, measure, and number, even so perfitelie as God made the world; or else I am so sharplie taunted, so cruellie threatened, yea presentlie sometimes with pinches, nippes, and bobbes, and other waies (which I will not name, for the honor I bear them) so without measure misordered, that I thinke myself in hell, till time come that I must go to Mr. Elmer; who teacheth me so jentlie, so pleasantlie, with such fair allurements to learninge, that I thinke all the time nothing whiles I am with him. And when I am called from him, I fall on weeping, because whatsoever I do els but learninge, is full of grief, trouble, feare, and whole misliking unto me." (*Schoolmaster.*)

In the Treatise likewise, from which the above extract is taken, the reader will find no mean information as to the manners of the age, particularly of the younger people, and the men of pleasure, and, what we call 'choice spirits.' His characters of the ancient writers are masterly, and from his precepts and advices for reading the most learned may draw profit; but, after all, the work seems not to have been finished. Sir John Cheke's judgement, and counsel for reading Sallust, is particularly good.

thors with the Ambassador,\* prevented his keeping up a correspondence with his friends at Cambridge, to whom he addressed several letters still extant, proving him to have been an accurate observer of men and manners. His abilities, likewise, as a politician he displayed in a curious treatise (written probably in 1532, while he was on an excursion to Italy) which he entitled, 'A Report and Discourse of the Affairs and State of Germany.' This work, beside giving the clearest account of the motives, which induced the Emperor to resign his crown to his son, Philip II., contains also a number of anecdotes and reflexions of a highly interesting nature.†

\* For four days in the week he read with him, in the morning some pages of Herodotus or Demosthenes, and in the afternoon a portion of Sophocles or Euripides. On the other days, he drew up the public letters; and at night he continued his diary, and his private correspondence.

† Ascham's letter to Astely, Master of the Jewel-House, prefixed to this work, which Dr. Campbell (*Biogr. Brit.* I. 284) pronounces "one of the most delicate pieces of history, that ever was penned in our language, evincing it's author to have been a man as capable of shining in the cabinet as in the closet," exhibits the qualifications essential to an historian; and will remind the classical reader of his Cicero and Tacitus.

'When you and I read Livie together (if you do remember) after some reasonyng, we concluded both what was in our opinion to be looked for at his hand, that would well and advisedly write an history. First point was, to write nothyng false: next, to be bold to say any truth: whereby is avoyded two great faultes, flattery and hatred. For which two pointes, Caesar is read to hys great prayse; and Jovius the Italian to hys just reproch. Then to marke diligently the causes, counsels, actes, and issues in all great attemptes: and in causes, what is just or unjust; in counsels, what is purposed wisely or rashly; in actes, what is done couragiously or fayntly; and of every

While he was thus agreeably employed abroad, his friends at home procured him the post of Latin Secretary to the King, with a salary of twenty pounds *per ann.*: but before he could take possession of his new dignity, he received the melancholy intelligence of the death of his royal master; an event, by which he was not only deprived of his place and his pension, but seemed to have lost likewise with them every prospect of subsequent preferment. Contrary to his expectations, however, through the friendship of Lord Paget \* who recommended him to Bishop Gardiner, he was raised to the same post under Queen Mary; and such was his diligence and despatch, that he

issue, to note some generall lesson of wisdom and warines for lyke matters in time to come; wherein Polybius in Greeke, and Phillip Comines in French, have done the duties of wyse and worthy writers. Diligence, also, must be used in kepyng truly the order of tyme, and describyng lyvely both the site of places and nature of persons; not onely for the outward shape of the body, but also for the inward disposition of the mynde; as Thucydides doth in many places very trimly, and Homer every where, and that alwayes most excellently, which observation is chiefly to be marked in hym. And our Chaucer doth the same, very praiseworthy: marke hym well, and conferre hym with any other that writeth in our tyme in their proudest tounge, whosoever lyst. The stile must be alwayes playne and open; yet sometyme higher and lower, as matters do ryse and fall. For if proper and naturall wordes in well-joynd sentences do lyvely expresse the matter—be it troublesome, quyet, angry, or pleasant—a man shall thinke not to be readyng, but present in doying of the same. And herein Livie of all other in any tounge, by myne opinion, carieth away the prayse.”

\* Ascham, it may be concluded, could make prudential compliances in matters of religion. He was no Ridley, or Latimer. Yet he maintained his interest with the Princess Elizabeth in the most perilous times; and to the fidelity of his friendship with Cecil he, in part, owed his prosperity under the next reign.

composed and transcribed in three days it is said no less than forty-seven Latin letters to princes and other foreigners of distinction, particularly to the cardinals on the subject of electing Pole to the papal chair. So highly, indeed, did Pole estimate Ascham's stile, that though he was himself eminent for his skill in Latin, he employed him to translate into that language the speech which he addressed to the parliament upon reconciling the kingdom to the see of Rome, and transmitted the version to Rome, where for the purity of it's diction it was universally admired.

In 1554, Ascham married Mrs. Margaret Howe, a young lady of good family, with whom he received a respectable fortune; and had the farther happiness, though he always made open profession of the Reformed Religion, to continue unmolested during the remainder of Mary's reign.

Upon the accession of his royal pupil Elizabeth, he was sent for to court, and replaced in his station of Latin Secretary, with only the same salary however as before: neither, though he was admitted sometimes to assist the Queen in her private studies,\* and at others to partake of her diver-

\* Of Elizabeth's literary attainments one testimony may be given from her tutor himself, in his 'Schoolmaster': "Pointe forth six of the best given gentlemen of this court; and all they together show not so much goodwill, spende not so much tyme, bestow not so many houres dayly, orderly, and constantly for the increase of learnyng and knowledge, as doth the Queen's Majestie herselfe. Yea, I believe that, beside her perfit readines in Latin, Italian, French, and Spanish, she readeth here now at Windsore more Greeke every day, than some prebendarie of this church doth read Latin in a whole weeke. And that which is most praiseworthie of all, within the walls of her privie-chamber

sions at draughts and chess, did she ever make any addition to his fortune, except a prebend\* in the cathedral of York, which was bestowed upon him in 1559. This inconsiderable preferment was grossly inadequate to his services: but Elizabeth was, naturally, not bountiful; and Ascham, though he often felt the want of money, appears to have been little versed in those arts, by which court-favours are obtained. He impaired his fortune likewise, as Camden informs us, by a love of dice and cock-fighting,† and was often miserably involved in law-suits. “But, however he might fail in his economy,” says Dr. Johnson, “it were indecent to treat with wanton levity the memory of a man, who shared his frailties with all, but whose learning or virtues few can attain, and by whose excellences many may be improved, while himself only suffered by his faults.”

In 1563, he composed his celebrated treatise, entitled ‘The School-Master,’‡ which he undertook at

she hath obteyned that excellencie of learnyng to understand, speake, and write both wittely with head and faire with hand, as scarce one or two wittes in both Universities have in many yeares reached unto.”

\* Of Wetwang, in the East-Riding.

† This, as it is stated also by his biographer and panegyrist Dr. Grant, must be deemed entitled to credit; yet it could hardly be before the end of his life, that he indulged these low and disgraceful amusements: for he inveighs most strongly against the villainous arts of dicing in his ‘Toxophilus,’ (p. 82, &c. ed. 1761.) In his ‘Schoolmaster,’ however, he intimates an intention of writing a book ‘Of the Cockpit,’ which he reckons among “the kinds of pastimes fit for a gentleman!”

‡ With reference to the principles maintained in this excellent work, the editor of ‘Oxoniana,’ speaking of Brasen-nose College, says, “The only language tolerated for public use, unless when strangers are present, is Latin; a regulation of which,



the request of Sir Richard Sackville; but it was not published, till after his death: it was then printed by his widow, and dedicated to Lord Burghley.

Notwithstanding this admirable volume, however, severity of discipline still continued, as appears from the regret expressed on the occasion by Peacham, in his 'Complete Gentleman.' See the sagacious and candid reflexions in his chapters 'Of the Duty of Masters,' and 'Of the Duty of Parents,' which afford curious anecdotes of the system of academic and domestic education then pursued. "In Germany," he observes, "the school is (as the name imports, it ought to be) merely *Ludus Literarius*, a very 'pastime of learning,' where it is a rare thing to see a rod stirring—having only for their punishment shame, and for their reward praise." Upon receiving his lecture, the scholar (he adds)

if rigorously enforced, the utility may well be questioned: but the excellent Ascham had not yet demonstrated the danger, lest the fluency thus acquired should be a vicious volubility of words ill selected and worse arranged. Perhaps, with proper attention, the modern practice of making the learned language the vehicle of public disputation participates the advantages of the two opposite schemes, without the inconveniences of either. Apt phraseology will easily be found for the discussion of a question previously known and considered, and a dexterity and command of words will grow familiar. [This may be regarded, as particularly the case in the Cambridge schools.] But the effusions of the moment, as well on literary as on friendly topics, it is perhaps safest to trust to that language, in which the ideas are presented to the mind; and in which consequently they will be expressed with the greatest facility, spirit, and effect." (II. 167.)

The party, in addition to Sir Richard Sackville, in whose company the idea of 'The Schoolmaster' originated, were Sir William Peter, Sir John Mason, Dr. Wotton, Sir Walter Mildmay Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Haddon Master of Requests, Mr. John Astely Master of the Jewel-House, Mr. Ber-

leaveth the school for an hour, and recreates himself till time calls him to repeat; where perhaps he stays an hour, &c. After a long note upon this subject, Mr. Dibdin (naturally enough) remarks with surprise, first, "That in a country like our own, distinguished by the gravity, reserve, and good sense of it's inhabitants, boys should conduct themselves with so much rudeness, flippancy, and tyranny toward each other; and, secondly, that masters should too frequently exercise a discipline suited rather to a government of despotism and terror, than to a land of liberty and social comfort!"

His Epistles, likewise, were collected by Graunt, who dedicated them to Elizabeth, that he might have an opportunity of recommending his son Giles Ascham to her patronage; and the dedication was not lost. The young man was made, by the Queen's mandate, fellow of a college in Cambridge, where he obtained considerable reputation.

Those Epistles, valuable both for stile and matter, are almost the only classic work of the kind written by an Englishman. *Thuanus elegantissimè scriptas judicat. Penè unus è gente Anglicâ est, cujus stilus veterem Latinitatem sapit. Cum Joanne Sturmio singularem coluit amicitiam; cujus exemplo erectus, elegans dicendi genus sectatus est.\**

Their character is thus given by Bishop Nicholson: "We have in them all the fine variety of lan-

nard Hampton, and Mr. Nicasius. These, assembled in Sir William Cecil's chamber at Windsor, abundantly prove the respectability of Ascham's connexions. It may be regarded as surprising, that his remarks on the utility of 'double translations' has not led to the universal adoption of this method in schools.

\* Markof. *Polyhist. Lit.*

guage, that is proper either for rendering a petition or complaint the most agreeable; and withal, a very great choice of historical matter, that is hardly preserved any where else. Together with the author's own Letters, we have a good many that are directed to him, both from the most eminent foreigners of his time, such as Sturmius, Sleidan, &c., and the best scholars as well as the wisest statesmen of his own country. And the publisher of these assures us, that 'he had the perusal of a vast number of others in the English tongue, which were highly valuable.' His attendance on Sir Richard Morisine, in his German embassy, gave him an intimate acquaintance with the affairs of that country; and the extraordinary freedom and familiarity, with which the two sister Queens treated him here at home, afforded him a perfect knowledge of the most secret mysteries of state in this kingdom: so that, were the rest of his papers retrieved, we could not perhaps have a more pleasing view of the main arcana of these reigns, than his writings would give us." \*

From 1563, we have little account of any exertion of his literary talents: his bad state of health indeed, it appears, obliged him to forbear all close ap-

\* The last and best edition of these Letters was published at Oxford in 1703 by Mr. Elstob, who has added many from MSS.; omitting however the Poems, by which they had previously been accompanied. Wood mentions a treatise of Ascham's, entitled *Apologia contra Missam*, said to have been printed in 1577; and another, under the name *De Imitatione*, has likewise been ascribed to his pen.

In 1761, a complete edition of his English works was published by Bennet, with his Life prefixed by Dr. Johnson, and some letters never before given to the world. It has recently been reprinted.

plication to study, except in the morning. As a last effort, however, in 1568 he attempted to compose a poem, to be presented to the Queen on the anniversary of her accession; but his distemper, a consumption, being exasperated by the effort and depriving him of rest, he was obliged to forbear, and prepared with pious fortitude to meet his approaching end. He died on the thirtieth of December, 1568, deeply lamented by Elizabeth (who emphatically declared, "she would rather have lost ten thousand pounds") and by all his contemporaries in the literary world, and was interred in St. Sepulchre's church, London, in the most private manner, agreeably to his own direction.

Buchanan's Tetrastic to his memory is preserved in the second book of his Epigrams :

*Aschamum extinctum patriæ, Graiæque Camœnæ,  
Et Latiae verâ cum pietate dolent.  
Principibus visit carus, jucundus amicis,  
Re modicâ : in mores dicere fama nequit.*

O'er Ascham withering in his narrow urn,  
The Muses—English, Grecian, Roman—mourn ;  
Though poor, to greatness dear, to friendship just :  
Not scandal's self can taint his hallow'd dust. F. W.

"He was an author (says Dibdin) of a peculiar and truly original cast. There is hardly a dull page, or a dull passage, in his lucubrations. His treatises contain a great deal of information respecting the manners and customs of his times;" and, as Dr. Johnson has well remarked, his philological learning would have gained him honour in any country. His invectives however against the Italian school, and his hard-hearted strictures on Petrarch and

Beccacio have drawn down upon him the animadversions of Mr. Burnet, in his 'Specimens of English Prose-writers.' But, above all, he is to be commended for having taught his countrymen the value of making the road to knowledge smooth and inviting by smiles and remunerations, rather than harsh and dreary by stripes and other punishments.\* Such, indeed, was the stern and Draco-like character, which school-masters of this period conceived themselves authorised to assume, that neither rank, nor situation, nor sex, were exempt from the exercise of their tyranny. Two gentlemen, who dined with him at Cecil's table, as he relates in the preface to his 'Schoolmaster,' were of opinion, that Nicolas Udal (then head-master of Eton School) was "the best schoolmaster of their time, and the greatest beater!"

His funeral sermon was preached by his intimate friend, Dr. Nowel; from the valuable Memoirs of whom, lately published by Dr. Churton, we learn that "he often visited Ascham during his illness, and supported and comforted him, by setting before him the sufferings of earth and the prospect of heaven: but in a strain and manner so divine, that when he had left the room, the sick man declared with joy, that 'the excellent Dean had sustained his soul with

\* Erasmus, likewise, was an advocate for a gentle and humane mode of education. The good Dean of St. Paul's, of similar erudition and congenial spirit, also approved of mild discipline, as his emendations of the Tunbridge School Regulations (submitted to his correction by the Skinners' Company, it's patrons) all on the side of lenity, evince. Among others, where it was provided that no "remedy for play" (or half-holiday) should be allowed "above four times in the year," he wrote in the margin, 'Leave to play once a week may well be borne with.'

food that would never die !' His disease grew more oppressive ; but his rich and happy memory did not forsake him, and he rehearsed before the Dean and other surrounding friends a variety of passages, expressive of the mercy and love of God to mankind, and of his blessings bestowed on them."

To Gravet, one of the Prebendaries of St. Paul's and Vicar of St. Sepulchre's, his dying words were, "*I desire to depart, and to be with Christ.*" Dr. Nowell indeed, in his sermon, affirmed that he "never saw or heard of a person of greater integrity of life, or that was blessed with a more Christian death."

He was the pride, and in one respect, perhaps, the shame, of the days of Elizabeth. In a letter to the Earl of Leicester, who had been godfather to one of his sons, he laments that 'through tedious and expensive suits at law and other difficulties he had been obliged to sell his plate, and that which grieved him much, his wife's poor jewels ; and was not very like to live long, nor to leave to his family any thing but beggary.' "And yet (says he) that poor service, that I have done to Queen Elizabeth, shall live still, and never die, as long as her noble hand and excellent learning in the Greek and Latin tongues shall be known to the world." But he had learnt the truest and best philosophy. He seems to have been unfortunate in the loss of children : such language, at least, fathers may venially adopt ; though he himself in a letter to his wife, on the death of one (probably, the first) of their offspring, says, "Mine own good Margaret ! referring me wholly to the will of God, I found cause of joy. You well remember our continual desire and prayer together : we desired to

be made vessels to increase the world; and it hath pleased God to make us vessels to increase heaven!" He, who was so perfectly master of this world, was fit, in the divine mercy, to go to a better. On the loss of his third, likewise, whom in compliment to his intimate friend and correspondent he had named Sturmius, he observed with exquisite beauty and pathos, *Nam Sturmius Aschamus vivit ille quidem, sed nunquam moriturus.*

His design in writing his '*Toxophilus*' was, according to his own account, not merely to vindicate himself from the imputation of spending too much time in archery; but, as stated by Johnson, to give an example of diction more natural and more truly English, than was used by the common writers of that age, whom he censures for mingling exotic terms with their native language, and of whom he complains, that they were made authors not by skill or education, but by arrogance and temerity. He has not failed in either of his purposes. He has sufficiently vindicated archery as an innocent, salutary, useful, and liberal diversion; and if his precepts are of no use, he has only shown by one example among many, how little the hand can derive from the mind, how little intelligence can contribute to dexterity. In every art, practice is much; in arts manual, practice is almost the whole. Precept can at most but warn against error, it can never bestow excellence.\*

The following passage is curious, as it marks

\* This work, which contains many learned allusions, and abounds with various fragments of English history, has been lately published separately in a small volume.

the corruptions of the language at the time of his writing :

‘ If any man would blame me either for taking such a matter in hand, or else for writing it in the English tongue, this answer I may make him, that when the best of the realm think it honest for them to use, I, one of the meanest sort, ought not to suppose it vile for me to write : and though to have written it in another tongue had been both more profitable for my study, and also more honest for my name ; yet I can think my labour well bestowed, if with a little hindrance of my profit and name may come any furtherance to the pleasure or commodity of the gentlemen and yeomen of England, for whose sake I took this matter in hand. And as for the Latin or Greek tongue, every thing is so excellently done in them, that none can do better : in the English tongue, contrary, every thing in a manner so meanly, both for the matter and handling, that no man can do worse. For therein the least learned, for the most part, have been always most ready to write. And they, which had least hope in Latin, have been most bold in English ; when surely every man, that is most ready to talk, is not most able to write. He, that will write well in any tongue, must follow this counsel of Aristotle, to speak as the common people do, to think as wise men do : as so should every man understand him, and the judgement of wise men allow him. Many English writers have not done so, but using strange words, as Latin, French, and Italian, do make all things dark and hard. Once I communed with a man, which reasoned the English tongue to be enriched and increased thereby, saying, “ Who will not praise that feast, where a man



shall drink at a dinner both wine, ale, and beer?"

"Truly (quoth I) they be all good, every one taken by himself alone, but if you put Malmsey and sack, red wine and white, ale and beer, and all in one pot, you shall make a drink not easy to be known, nor yet wholesome for the body." Cicero in following Isocrates, Plato, and Demosthenes, increased the Latin tongue after another sort. This way, because divers men that write do not know, they can neither follow it, because of their ignorance, nor yet will praise it for over-arrogancy; two faults, seldom the one out of the other's company. English writers, by diversity of time, have taken divers matters in hand. In our fathers' time, nothing was read but books of feigned chivalry, wherein a man by reading should be led to none other end, but only to manslaughter and bawdry. If any man suppose, they were good enough to pass the time withal, he is deceived. For surely vain words do work no small thing in vain, ignorant, and young minds; especially, if they be given any thing thereunto of their own nature. These books (as I have heard say) were made the most part in abbeyes and monasteries, a very likely and fit fruit of such an idle and blind kind of living. In our time now, when every man is given to know, much rather than to live well, very many do write, but after such a fashion as very many do shoot. Some shooters take in hand stronger bows, than they are able to maintain: this thing maketh them sometime to overshoot the mark, sometime to shoot far wide, and perchance hurt some that look on. Other, that never learned to shoot, nor yet knoweth good shaft nor bow, will be as busy as the best.'

Toward the end of his 'Schoolmaster,' there are several pages which treat, incidentally indeed, of the literature, the manners, and the opinions of his age. These passages, to a modern reader, will be considered probably as the most valuable part of the book :

' Sir Richard Sackville, that worthy gentleman, of worthy memory, as I said in the beginning, in the Queen's privy-chamber at Windsor, after he had talked with me for the right choice of a good wit in a child for learning, and of the true difference betwixt quick and hard wits; of alluring young children by gentleness to love learning, and of the special care that was to be had to keep young men from licentious living; was most earnest with me, to have me say my mind also, what I thought concerning the fancy that many young gentlemen of England have to travel abroad, and namely, to lead a long life in Italy. His request, both for his authority and good will toward me, was a sufficient commandment unto me to satisfy his pleasure, with uttering plainly my opinion in that matter. "Sir," quoth I, "I take going thither and living there, for a young gentleman that doth not go under the keep and guard of such a man, as both by wisdom can and authority dare rule him, to be marvellous dangerous."

\* \* \* \* \*

' I know divers noble personages, and many worthy gentlemen of England, whom all the siren songs of Italy could never untwine from the mast of God's word; nor no incitement of vanity overturn them from the fear of God, and love of honesty.

' But I know as many or more, and some sometime my dear friends (for whose sake I hate going into

that country the more), who parting out of England fervent in the love of Christ's doctrine, and well furnished with the fear of God, returned out of Italy, worse transformed than ever was any in Circe's court. I know divers, that went out of England men of innocent life, men of excellent learning, who returned out of Italy, not only with worse manners, but also with less learning; neither so willing to live orderly, nor yet so liable to speak learnedly, as they were at home, before they went abroad.'

\* \* \* \* \*

- 'But I am afraid that over many of our travellers in Italy do not eschew the way to Circe's court, but go, and ride, and run, and fly thither: they make great haste to come to her: they make great suit to serve her; yea, I could point out some with my finger, that never had gone out of England, but only to serve Circe in Italy. Vanity, and vice, and any license to ill living in England was counted stale and rude unto them. And so, being mules and horses before they went; return swine and asses home again: yet every where very foxes with subtile and busy heads; and, where they may, very wolves with cruel malicious hearts. A marvellous monster, which for filthiness of living, for dulness to learning himself, for wiliness in dealing with others, for malice in hurting without cause should carry at once, in one body, the belly of a swine, the head of an ass, the brain of a fox, the womb of a wolf! If you think we judge amiss, and write too sore against you, hear what the Italian sayeth of the Englishman; what the master reporteth of the scholar, who uttereth plainly what is taught by him and what is learned by you, saying, *Englese Italianato e un Diabolo incarnato*:

that is to say, "You remain men in shape and fashion, but become devils in life and condition." \*

\* \* \* \* \*

‘ If some do not well understand what is “an Englishman Italianated,” I will plainly tell him: “He that by living and travelling in Italy, bringeth home into England the religion, the learning, the policy, the experience, the manners of Italy.” That is to say, for religion, papistry, or worse; for learning, less commonly than they carried out with them; for policy, a factious heart, a discoursing head, a mind to meddle in all men’s matters; for experience, plenty of new mischiefs never known in England before; for manners, variety of vanities, and change of filthy living.’

From the writings and other memorials of Ascham it appears, that he was of an amiable temper; of great kindness to his friends, and exemplary gratitude toward his benefactors; disposed to freedom of inquiry in religion, but too intent on other pursuits to exercise much zeal upon this object; respectable as a man, but chiefly to be honoured as a scholar, who deserved from his contemporaries more liberal rewards than he received, and who rendered essential service to posterity by promoting correct taste and sound learning.

“His works are, perhaps, less read than their merit deserves. In respect of his literary habits, it has been observed, that “he lost no time in the perusal of mean or unprofitable books;” a rule, well worthy of the attention of every student who reads in order to acquire knowledge. Dr. Johnson observes, that he “entered Cambridge at a time when the last great revolution of the intellectual world was filling

every academical mind with ardour or anxiety. The destruction of the Constantinopolitan empire had driven the Greeks, with their language, into the interior parts of Europe. The art of printing had made books easily attainable, and Greek now began to be taught in England. The doctrines of Luther had already filled all the nations of the Romish communion with controversy and dissension. Those, who were zealous for the new learning, were often no great friends to the old religion; and Ascham, as he became a Grecian, became a Protestant. The Reformation was not yet begun; disaffection to Popery was considered as a crime justly punished by exclusion from favour and preferment, and was not yet openly professed, though superstition was gradually losing its hold upon the public. The study of Greek was reputable enough, and Ascham pursued it with diligence and success equally conspicuous."

JOHN JEWEL,  
BISHOP OF SALISBURY.\*

[1522—1571.]

**T**HIS eminent champion of the Protestant cause, the descendent of an ancient family in Devonshire, was born at the village of Buden in that county, in 1522. At the age of seven, he was instructed in the rudiments of grammar by his maternal uncle Mr. John Bellamy, Rector of Hamton. He was afterward sent to school at Branton, and thence removed successively to South-Molton, and to Barnstaple. Before he was fourteen he was placed at Merton College, Oxford, under the tuition of Peter Burrey, a man of inconsiderable learning, and no great friend to the Reformation. But he was subsequently committed to the care of Mr. John Parkhurst, a fellow of the same College,† under whom he was initiated in the principles of Protestantism, and made a rapid progress in his academical studies.

In 1539, he removed to Corpus Christi College, of

\* **AUTHORITIES.** Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, and the *History and Antiquities of Oxford*, Humphrey and Featley's *Life of Jewel*, and *British Biography*.

† Afterward Bishop of Norwich.

which he was elected a scholar : and in the year following he was admitted to the degree of B.A., after which he applied himself with uncommon assiduity to theological learning ; accustoming himself to rise at four in the morning, and to continue at his books till ten at night with a devotedness, which made it necessary to remind him of the hours of refreshment. By this indefatigable industry he acquired an amazing fund of knowledge, but it was at the expense of his health ; for, in consequence of a neglected cold, he contracted a lameness which became incurable.

Thus qualified, Jewel commenced tutor, and by his influence and instructions greatly promoted the cause of the Reformation. He was, likewise, chosen Professor of Rhetoric in his College,\* which office he held with distinguished honour seven years. His lectures indeed were so much admired, that the fame of them brought from his country-retirement his old preceptor Parkhurst, who not only bestowed the highest encomiums on his abilities, but also took upon himself the expenses of his degree of M.A. In his moral

\* “ What Tully spoke of Pompey’s noble exploits in war, that ‘ they could not be matched by the valiant acts of all the Roman commanders in one year, nor in all years by the prowess of one commander ;’ so it may be truly said of Jewel, Hooker, and Rainolds (all Devonshire men) that ‘ they could not be paralleled by the students of all counties brought up in one college, nor the students in all colleges born in one county.’ The two former mainly opposed the enemies of the doctrine, the third, of the discipline of the church of England, with like happy success ; and they were all three in several kinds very eminent, if not equal. As Jewel’s fame grew from the Rhetoric Lecture, which he read with singular applause, and Hooker’s from the Logic, so Rainolds’ from the Greek, in C. C. Coll.” (Wood’s *Ath. Oxon.* I. 339.)

character, he was the example of his College; inso-much that the Dean, a rigid Papist, used to say to him, "I should love thee, Jewel, if thou wert not a Zuinglian. In thy faith, I hold thee to be an heretic; but, surely, in thy life thou art an angel."

On the accession of Edward VI., Jewel threw off the veil of secrecy, made a public declaration of his religious opinions, and entered into a strict friendship with Peter Martyr, who then occupied the divinity-chair. In 1550, he took the degree of B. D., upon which occasion he preached an excellent Latin sermon. About this time, likewise, he was presented to the rectory of Sunning-Well in Berkshire; and, though his lameness made the exercise painful to him, he walked constantly to his church every other Sunday to preach and to catechise.

The result of this his indefatigable zeal during the reign of Edward was, a virulent prosecution commenced against him by the Papists as soon as Mary ascended the throne. It was begun by the fellows of his own College, who expelled him for heresy, even before any public orders had been issued for restoring the old religion. The University however, at the same time, from their high opinion of his literary abilities, employed him to compose the congratulatory address upon the accession of the new Sovereign, and appointed him their Orator. This honour indeed, it has been suggested, was intended to ensnare him; by rendering him odious to his own party, if he accepted, or by provoking the Papists, if he refused it. But, in that case, they completely missed their object; for the address was drawn up by him with such dexterity, in a form at once so respectful and so guarded, that it met with the full approbation of the Vice-chancellor



and the Heads of Houses, and was favourably received by the Queen herself.

Mr. Jewel, on his expulsion, did not quit the University, but withdrew to Broadgate-Hall (now Pembroke College), where he continued his lectures, and attended his pupils as usual. Being soon afterward however constrained, upon the re-establishment of Popery, at the peril of his life to subscribe to the Romish tenets, as it was well known that his signature was compulsive, the Dean of Christ Church resolved to secure him, in order that he might be closely examined by Bonner the grand inquisitor. Jewel receiving private intelligence of his design, left Oxford the very night upon which he was required to attend, and taking a bye-road for London pursued his journey on foot, till through mere exhaustion he was compelled to lie down by the way-side. In this situation, he was providentially found by Augustine Bernher a Swiss, who had been in the service of Bishop Latimer,\* and was now a divine. This gentleman procured him a horse, and accompanied him to the house of Lady Anne Warcup, by whom he was hospitably entertained for some time, and afterward privately conveyed to the capital. Here it was only by the greatest precaution, that he could elude the activity of Bonner's emissaries, being frequently constrained to change his lodgings in the night. At length, his escape from England was happily effected by the care of his friend Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, who provided him a vessel and furnished him with money for his support, and of Giles Lawrence a fellow-collegian, who conducted him on board.

\* He published the Collection of his old master's Sermons in 1540.

Upon reaching the Continent, he proceeded to Frankfort, where he arrived in 1554, and immediately made a public protestation of his contrition for having subscribed to the Romish faith. Peter Martyr had left England on the first notice of the death of Edward VI., and now resided at Strasburgh: with him therefore Mr. Jewel, by his express invitation, now went to reside. He had converted his house into a kind of college for learned men, and he constituted his new visitor his deputy: he, likewise, profited by his assistance in his theological lectures, and was accompanied by him to Zurich. From Zurich Jewel probably made an excursion to Padua, and there commenced his friendship with Signior Scipio, a noble Venetian, to whom he subsequently addressed his ‘Epistle relative to the Council of Trent.’\*

When the joyful intelligence of Elizabeth’s accession called him back to England, he joined several other Protestant exiles, all equally anxious to revisit their native country, and embarked for London in the beginning of the year 1559. These fortunate fugitives (for so may we correctly pronounce those, who escaped the horrors of the preceding reign) were graciously received by the young Queen; and several of them, most eminent for their piety and learning among the clergy, were speedily provided for in the church. Mr. Jewel, in particular, was enrolled among the sixteen divines, appointed to hold a public disputation against the Papists in Westminster Abbey.

\* This work, of which the full title was, ‘*Epistola ad Scipionem Patricium Venetum, de causis cur Episcopi Angli ad Concilium Tridentinum non convenirent,*’ was printed at the end of Father Paul’s History of that Council translated by Sir Nathaniel Brent, 1629.

March 31, 1559. In the ensuing July, he was constituted one of the Visitors enjoined to purge the western dioceses of Popery; and in January, 1560, he was promoted to the see of Salisbury.

About this time, certain ecclesiastical habits were directed to be worn by the different orders of the English clergy. This occasioned a warm controversy; from which it appears that Jewel, though he deemed it proper to comply with the orders issued by his Sovereign, by no means approved of the vestments in question; for, in his letters to his foreign friends, he complained of them, as the ‘habits of the stage,’ the ‘relics of the Amorites,’ &c. “Some,” he observes, “were so much set on the matter of the habits, as if the Christian religion consisted in garments: but he would set no value on these fopperies.”\* He objected, also, to the crucifix retained in the Queen’s chapel. Upon this article, as he himself states in a letter to his friend Martyr, a debate was to take place, before some of the council, between Parker and Cox on one side, and Grindal and himself on the other. “He could but laugh within himself,” he adds, “when he thought what solid and grave reasonings would be brought out on this occasion. He was told, that ‘it was resolved to have crucifixes of silver or tin set up in all churches; and that such, as would not obey this, would be turned out of their bishoprics.’ If that were true, he would be no longer a bishop.”

Soon after his consecration, first at court and sub-

\* Subsequently, however, he not only thought proper to comply with the royal orders upon the subject; but, likewise, enforced conformity on this point, in some instances with unbecoming rigour.

sequently in a sermon preached at St. Paul's Cross, he gave a public challenge\* to all Papists, natives or foreigners, to produce a single evidence, either from the Fathers or from any other writers who flourished in the first six centuries of the Christian æra, in favour of any one of the articles of the Romish faith; and two years afterward, upon finding that no satisfactory answer was likely to be made to his appeal, he published in Latin his celebrated 'Apology for (or, rather, Defence of) the English Church.'†

\* Of this noble Challenge, 'To the learned of his adversaries, or to all the learned men that be alive,' see *Concilia Magnæ Britanniae*, IV. 220.

† This production, distinguished equally by it's strength and it's elegance, incurred a severe censure from the Council of Trent, and endured uninjured the attacks of a Spanish and an Italian bishop. It was translated from the Latin by Anne, the second of the four learned daughters of Sir Antony Cooke, and mother of Sir Francis Bacon; and was published as it came from her pen, in 1564, with the approbation of the Queen and her prelates. It was printed also in Greek at Constantinople, under the direction of Cyril the Patriarch, who was murdered by the Jesuits. A Greek version of it, likewise, by John Smith, B. A. of Magdalen College, Oxford, has obtained credit and currency in England, and has recently been reprinted by the Rev. A. Campbell of Pontefract; who has also given a new edition of the original work, and an English version of it, accompanied with notes.

It was attacked 1563 by Mr. Harding in what he termed 'A Confutation of the Apology, &c.,' and vindicated by it's Author, with incidental notices of his other antagonists, in his 'Defence of the Apology,' &c. which was translated into Latin by Thomas Bradock of Christ's College, Cambridge, and printed at Geneva in 1600.

This last work of Jewel's was held in such esteem, that it was commanded by Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I., and four successive Archbishops of Canterbury, to be kept chained in all parish-churches for public use. Harding replied to it, in his 'Detection of Sundry foul Errors, &c.' in 1568; and Jewel printed his final Answer in the course of the same year.

The advocates for the Romish religion, in the mean while, both at home and abroad, were not idle. The deprived Dean of St. Paul's, Dr. Cole, commenced an epistolary controversy with Jewel upon the subject of his sermon: but railing, not argument, was Cole's talent. The Bishop's challenge had been issued at London in 1560; and four years afterward John Rastal, a Jesuit, published at Antwerp, what he stiled, 'A Confutation of Jewel's Sermon.' In the same year Thomas Dorman printed, at the same place, 'A Proof of certain Articles of Religion denied by Mr. Jewel.' Rastal was answered by William Fulke, and Dorman by Alexander Nowell, a brother-exile with Jewel, who had been rewarded for his merit and his sufferings with the Deanery of St. Paul's. But the only opponent, whose work may be said to have outlived the controversy, was the Harding\* abovementioned.

In reward for his eminent services, the University

\* Harding, who had been fellow of New College, and in the reign of Edward VI. (as Chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk, and a strenuous friend of the Reformation) had endeavoured to prepare men for the persecution which was apprehended in Mary's days, revolted to Popery. Lady Jane Grey, daughter of his ducal patron, addressed a long letter to him upon his apostasy, which may be found in Fox's 'Acts and Monuments.'

This sturdy opponent published also at Louvain, in 1564, an Answer to Mr. Jewel's Challenge; which in 1566 received a full 'Reply' from the Bishop, translated subsequently into Latin by William Whitaker, of Trinity College, Cambridge, and published at Geneva with the 'Apology' in 1578. To this 'Reply,' Harding drew up two Rejoinders 1566 and 1567. Jewel's 'Apology for the English Church,' and his 'Reply to Harding,' were translated into the Dutch, French, Spanish, Italian, and Greek languages; so that his works converted to Protestantism many thousands, who could not have the benefit of his personal instructions.

of Oxford conferred upon him the honorary degree of D.D. in 1565 : and in the year following, he presided at the divinity-disputations held before the Queen in that learned seminary.

His public conduct in his diocese, likewise, procured him the veneration and the esteem of all good men. By particularly attending to the proceedings of his Chancellor and his Archdeacons, presiding frequently in his Consistory Court, and inspecting the lives of the private clergy, he produced a great reformation, and rescued the people from the shameful extortions of the stewards and other inferior ecclesiastical officers. His humane concern for the welfare of the poor was extended, also, to the civil jurisdiction : for as he was in the commission of the peace, he frequently sat on the bench with the justices, and corrected numerous abuses in the exercise of that office : and acting in the same capacity at his episcopal seat, he composed various petty quarrels arising among neighbours, and prevented many vexatious law-suits.

But though his unwearied application to these important concerns, combined with his fondness for study, and the little inclination which he had for recreations of any kind, destroyed his health ; no entreaties of his friends could induce him to alter his usual hours, or to remit his accustomed exertions. He still continued his practice of rising about four in the morning : at five, he summoned his household to prayers ; at six, he attended public worship in his cathedral ; the remainder of the morning he passed in his library ; and the afternoon he devoted to public audiences. About nine in the evening, he called his servants to an account, examining how they had passed their time ; after which, he proceeded to

prayers with his family. Till midnight, he withdrew to his study, and he then retired to bed; where one of his chaplains, generally, read to him till he fell asleep. A life so laborious could not fail to bring on a decline: but when a visible alteration was observed, the answer which he invariably returned to the hints of his friends upon the subject was, "A bishop should die preaching;" words, almost literally fulfilled! For a short time before his death, having promised to preach at a church in Wiltshire, he was met upon the road by a gentleman, who perceiving from his looks that he was much indisposed, urged him to return home; telling him, that 'the people had better lose one sermon, than be totally deprived of such a preacher.' He continued his journey, however; delivered his last discourse, though with considerable difficulty; and died a few days after his return, in September 1571, at Monkton Farley. He was buried in the choir of Salisbury Cathedral.\*

Bishop Jewel was one of the most learned of the Reformers. With the Latin and Greek languages he was critically acquainted, and was besides a proficient in the German and Italian. Of his interior

\* Buchanan's Iambics to his memory will be perused with pleasure by the classical reader:

*JUELLE, mater quem tulit Devoniam,  
Nutrixque fovit erudita Oxonia,  
Quem Maria ferro et igne patriâ expulit,  
Virtus reduxit, præsulem facit parens  
Elizabetha docta doctarum artium;  
Pulvis pusillus te sepulcri hîc contegit;  
Quàm parva tellus nomen ingens occulit!*

JEWEL! whom Devon, gentlest mother, bred;  
And Oxford, nurse of learning, nourished:

and accurate knowledge of theology, ecclesiastical history, and the writings of the ancient Fathers, his voluminous works bear honourable testimony. Not less commendable than his learning, were his piety and his moderation. His moral conduct was highly exemplary; his command of his passions wonderful; and his temper invariably meek, modest, and obliging. To the poor, he was generous and charitable; and he was liberal to worthy foreigners, whenever he observed them in distress. He constantly maintained, and educated, some pious young men in his own house, and assisted several students at the University with yearly pensions. In the list of persons largely indebted to his bounty, may be included the venerable name of Hooker; to whom the English hierarchy is under such substantial obligations.

Whom bigot Mary's rage from England drove,  
 Virtue recall'd, and skill'd Eliza's love  
 'Mid prelates placed—now, whelm'd in dust thy frame,  
 A turf how humble hides how great a name!

F. W.

The following Elegy was written by Dr. Fuller.

' Holy learning, sacred arts,  
 Gifts of Nature strength of parts,  
 Fluent grace, an humble mind,  
 Worth reform'd and wit refined,  
 Sweetness both in tongue and pen,  
 Insight both in books and men,  
 Hopes in woe and fears in weal,  
 Humble knowledge, sprightly zeal,  
 A liberal heart and free from gall,  
 Close to friend and true to all,  
 Height of courage in truth's duel—  
 Are the stones that made this Jewel.  
 Let him, that would be truly blest,  
 Wear this Jewel in his breast.'



He was remarkable for an uncommon memory, which he improved by art. By the first writer of his life (Dr. Lawrence Humfrey) it is asserted, that he taught this art to Dr. Parkhurst his old tutor, while they were in exile at Zurich; enabling him in the space of twenty-eight days, with only one hour's application each day, to repeat the whole Gospel of St. Matthew, and upon hearing any separate portion of it, to recite the preceding and subsequent verses. His sermons he chiefly delivered extempore from heads put down in writing, upon which he used to meditate while the bell was summoning him to church.\*

Beside the articles already enumerated, Jewel published Latin 'Orations' and 'Sermons;' and was the author of a 'View of a Seditious Bull sent into England by Pius V. Bishop of Rome, Anno 1569,' a 'Treatise of the Holy Scriptures,' a 'Treatise of the Sacraments,' an 'Exposition of the Two Epistles of Paul to the Thessalonians,' and 'Certain Sermons preached before the Queen's Majesty at St. Paul's Cross and elsewhere;' all chiefly taken from his dis-

\* He used to say, 'if ten thousand people were quarrelling or fighting all the while he was preaching, they could not put him out.' To try this extraordinary faculty, Dr. Parkhurst proposed to him some of the most difficult and barbarous terms out of a calendar, and Bishop Hooper gave him forty Welsh, Irish, and foreign words; all of which, after once or twice reading and a little recollection, he repeated correctly backward and forward. In 1563, the Lord Keeper Bacon recited to him out of Erasmus' paraphrase the last clauses of ten lines, confused and imperfect on purpose. Those broken parcels of sentences, after sitting silent awhile and covering his face with his hand, he rehearsed, both the right way and the contrary, without hesitation or error!

courses, and all printed after his death. His English works, still held in esteem by divines, were published collectively in folio, at London, in 1609.

## JOHN KNOX.\*

[1505—1572.]

**JOHN KNOX**, the intrepid father of the Reformation of the Scottish church, a man of apostolical zeal and sanctity, considerable learning, and eminent accomplishments, was descended from an ancient and respectable family.† He was born at Gifford, near Haddington in Scotland, in 1505: about 1524, was placed at the University of St. Andrew's under the tuition of Mr. John Mair, better known by his Latin name, *Major*;‡ and applied with so much diligence

\* **AUTHORITIES.** M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, *Biographia Britannica*, Mackenzie's *Lives of the Scotch Writers*, and Robertson's *History of Scotland*.

† His mother's name was Sinclair; and by this name, in times of persecution or of war, he used to subscribe his letters.

‡ He was the preceptor, also, of Buchanan. He had acquired not only learning, but liberality, at the University of Paris (where he had resided, for some time, as Professor) in witnessing the struggles of the Gallican Church against the despotism of the Romish Pontiff. What important influences are often exercised over the minds of young men, and their subsequent train of thinking, by the master under whom they are educated! And how carefully, therefore, ought he by a parent to be selected! In the opinions of Mair upon the temporal supremacy of the Pope, the origin of tithes, the secularity of the court of Rome, the derivation of civil power from the people,

to the academical studies then in vogue, that while still very young, he obtained the degree of M. A.

His inclination leading him strongly to the clerical profession, he quickly became eminent for his attainments in scholastic theology: so that he took priest's orders before the period usually allowed by the canons, and at an early age began to teach his beloved science with considerable applause. After some time however, upon a careful perusal of the Fathers of the church, more especially the writings of St. Jerome and St. Austin, his sentiments were entirely altered. By the writings of the former he was led to the Scriptures, as the only pure fountain of divine truth, and instructed in the utility of studying them in the original languages: in the works of the latter, he found religious sentiments very opposite to those inculcated in the Romish church; who, while she retained his name as a saint in her calendar, had banished his doctrine, as heretical, from her pulpits. He quitted the cobweb subtilty of the schools, and embraced the study of a more plain, solid, and rational divinity. Though this change, however, commenced about the year 1535, it does not appear that he professed himself a Protestant before the death of James V. in 1542.

Having once adopted the scriptural doctrines of

and the responsibility of rulers, may be distinctly traced the principles afterward avowed by Knox, and defended by the classical pen of Buchanan. Yet in many respects was he so feeble and superstitious, and his stile so harsh and forbidding, that the latter pupil, borrowing his own words, has not unjustly (with whatever apparent ingratitude, though perhaps it is rather to be deemed *non tam hominis vitium, quàm poetæ*) pronounced him.

— *solo cognomine Major.*

Christianity, he attended only such preachers, as he knew to be of a kindred way of thinking; among others Guillaume (or Williams) a Dominican, from whose anti-papal sermons he derived great advantage. This friar, as Calderwood informs us, was Provincial of his order in 1548, when the Earl of Arran, at that time Regent of Scotland, favoured the Reformation: and Mr. George Wishart, another celebrated Reformer, arriving from Cambridge with the Commissioners sent by Henry VIII. in the ensuing year, through him the inquisitive Knox imbibed still more deeply the new principles; with which he was so much delighted, that he renounced all thoughts of officiating in the Romish church, and became tutor to the sons of the Lairds of Ormiston and Langniddrie,\* both favourers of the Reformed doctrines.

His ordinary residence was now at Langniddrie, where he not only instructed his pupils in the different branches of academical learning, but was also particularly careful to instil into their minds the principles of the Protestant faith.† This reaching the ears of Cardinal Beatoun, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, that prelate prosecuted him with such severity, that he was frequently obliged to abscond. Upon which, exhausted by his continual alarms, he resolved to re

\* John Cockburn, and Hugh Douglas.

† This was so managed, as to allow the rest of the family, and the people of the neighbourhood, to reap advantage from it. He catechised the young men publicly in the chapel, and read to them also at stated times a chapter of the Bible, accompanied with explanatory remarks, in the same place. The memory of the fact has been preserved by tradition; and the chapel, the ruins of which are still apparent, is popularly called 'John Knox's Kirk.'

tire to Germany, where the new opinions were rapidly spreading ; as he perceived that in England, though the Pope's authority was disavowed, the greater part of the Romish tenets still prevailed, and enjoyed indeed the full sanction of the royal authority.\* But from this step he was dissuaded by both the fathers of his pupils : and Cardinal Beaton having been assassinated in 1546 by Norman and John Leslie,† in

\* Henry VIII. had, at this time, invested himself with the ecclesiastical supremacy of his dominions. In the arrogant and violent exercise of this power, which he had wrested from the Bishop of Rome, the English Pope was scarcely exceeded by any of the pretended successors of St. Peter. Having signalled himself, (Dr. M'Crie observes, in his animated and accurate 'Life of Knox') as a literary champion against Luther, he was anxious to demonstrate, that his breach with the Romish court had not alienated him from the Catholic Faith ; and he would suffer none to proceed a step beyond the narrow and capricious line of reform, which he was pleased to prescribe. Hence the motley system of religion which he established, and the contradictory measures by which it was supported. Statutes against the authority of the Pope, and against the tenets of Luther, were enacted in the same parliament ; and Papists and Protestants were, alternately, dragged to the same stake.

† Writers unfriendly to Knox have endeavoured to implicate him in this murder. In the 'Image of both Churches, Hierusalem and Babell, Unitie and Confusion, Obedience and Sedition' by P. D. M. (supposed to be Sir Tobie Matthews) it is ignorantly asserted, that 'he was one of the conspirators.' Bishop Lesly, in his '*De Rebus Gestis Scotorum*,' argues that 'he made himself accessory to their crime, by taking shelter among them.' Others, more plausibly, have deduced from his writings, that he vindicated the deed, if not as laudable, as innocent. And this he appears to have done on the principle of 'tyrannicide' avowed by many of the ancients, and defended by Buchanan in his Dialogue '*De Jure Regni apud Scotos*.'

Hume has, however, not very philosophically inferred the savageness of Knox's temper from the evident satisfaction, with which he wrote of the assassination in question : for what, upon that

consequence of his having burnt their relation Wishart for heresy,\* he took shelter in the Castle of St. An-

principle, must we conclude of the Christian Fathers, from their modes of expressing themselves on the deaths of the persecutors of the church? What of the mild Erasmus, from his exultation over the ashes of Zuinglius and Œcolampadius? The unbecoming pleasantry, indeed, mingled by Knox with his narrative of the Cardinal's death and burial, must be ascribed to the propensity which he had to indulge his vein of humour: a propensity so powerful, that even in relating the trial and execution of his friend and instructor Wishart, he could not abstain from inserting a truly ludicrous description of the quarrel, which arose upon that occasion between the Archbishops of St. Andrew's and Glasgow; adding, "if we interlace merrines with earnest matters, pardon us, gude reidare: for the fact is sa notable, that it deserves long memorie."

\* When Wishart was apprehended by Bothwell, at the instigation of the Cardinal, he directed the sword to be taken from Knox (who had constantly borne it before him, from the time that an attempt had been made to assassinate him at Dundee), and, upon his entreating permission to accompany him to Ormiston, dismissed him with this reply; "Nay, return to your bairnes (meaning his pupils) and God blis you: ane is sufficient for a sacrifice."

Buchanan calls him '*Sophocardius*,' as if his name were 'Wiseheart'; but from Gerdes we learn, that the original appellation was Guiscard, a name common in France, from which country the Wischards (for so Knox writes it) originally came to Scotland.

The following graphic description of this interesting Martyr is contained in a letter written by a person, who had been one of his disciples at Cambridge, and transmitted by him to Fox the Martyrologist.

'About the year of our Lord 1543, there was in the University of Cambridge one Master George Wischart, commonly called Master George of Ben'et College, who was a man of tall stature, polled-headed, and on the same a round French cap of the best. Judged of melancholy complexion by his physiognomy, black-haired, long-bearded, comely of personage, well spoken after his country of Scotland, courteous, lowly, lovely, glad to teach, desirous to learn, and well travailed, having on him

drew's, then in possession of the Leslies, who were firm friends of the Reformed Faith.

for his habit or clothing never but a mantle frieze gown to the shoes, a black Milan fustian doublet, and plain black hose, coarse new canvass for his shirts, and white falling bands and cuffs at the hands. All the which apparel he gave to the poor, some weekly, some monthly, some quarterly, as he liked; saving his French cap, which he kept the whole year of my being with him. He was a man modest, temperate, fearing God, hating covetousness; for his charity had never end, night, noon, nor day: he forbore one meal in three, one day in four for the most part, except something to comfort nature.

‘ When accused, at his trial, of contemning fasting, he replied; “ My Lords, I find that fasting is commended in the Scripture: and not so only, but I have learnt by experience, that fasting is good for the health and conservation of the body.” He lay hard upon a puff of straw: coarse new canvass sheets which, when he changed, he gave away. He had commonly by his bed-side a tub of water, in the which (his people being in bed, the candle put out, and all quiet) he used to bathe himself, as I being very young, being assured often heard him, and in one light night discerned him: he loved me tenderly, and I him for my age as effectually. He taught with great modesty and gratuity, so that some of his people thought him severe, and would have slain him, but the Lord was his defence. And he, after due correction for their malice, by good exhortation amended them, and he went his way. O that the Lord had left him to me his poor boy, that he might have finished that he had begun! For in his religion he was, as you see here in the rest of his life, when he went into Scotland with divers of the nobility, that came for a treaty to King Henry VIII. His learning was no less sufficient, than his desire; always prest (*prompt*) and ready to do good in that he was able, both in the house privately, and in the school publicly, professing and reading divers authors.

‘ If I should declare his love to me and all men, his charity to the poor in giving, relieving, curing, helping, providing, yea infinitely studying how to do good unto all and hurt to none, I should sooner want words than just cause to commend him.

‘ All this I testify, with my whole heart and truth, of this godly man. He that made all, governeth all, and shall judge all,



Here he resumed his tuition in his usual manner. Beside the grammar and the classical authors, he prepared a catechism for his pupils, which he obliged them publicly to repeat in the parish-church of St. Andrew's. He likewise continued to read to them the Gospel of St. John in a lecture delivered at an appointed hour, which was attended by several gentlemen of the place. Among others Mr. Henry Balnaves and John Rough, delighted with the manner of his doctrine, began earnestly to entreat him to take upon himself the office of a preacher. But this he absolutely refused; alleging, in his own peculiar strain of humour, that 'he would not run, where God had not called him.' Upon which, these gentlemen consulting with Sir David Lindsay of the Mount,\* Lyon King at Arms, a person of eminent

knoweth I speak the truth; that the simple may be satisfied, the arrogant confounded, the hypocrite disclosed.'

\* Τίλος. *Emery Tilney.*

\* This distinguished character, who with Balnaves and Rough had entered the Castle, as seven-score other refugees did the day after the slaughter of the Cardinal, was one of the first poets of his age, and by his writings greatly contributed to the advancement of the Reformation. Of grave personal deportment and immaculate morals, though his pages are too often slurred with indelicacies, he had long lashed the vices of the clergy and the superstitions of Popery in the most popular and poignant satires; being protected by James V., who retained a strong attachment to the companion of his early sports and the band of his leisure hours. His 'Satire on the Three Estates,' and his 'Monarchie,' had this for their principal object. After the death of that monarch, when the Regent Arran dismissed his reforming counsellors, Sir David was left exposed to the vengeance of his clerical foes. They were not too forgiving.

Balnaves, the son of poor parents, had obtained admission as a boy to a Free School at Cologne, practised law for some time upon his return before the Consistorial Court of St. Andrew's,

probity and learning, it was concluded to charge him publicly by the mouth of Mr. Rough from the pulpit, to 'preach the gospel of Christ to the deluded multitude, at a time when they stood most in need of able teachers.' This was accordingly done, the congregation at the same time joining with the minister, in declaring their belief that 'he ought not to refuse such a holy vocation.' Overwhelmed by this unexpected and solemn charge, Knox, after an ineffectual attempt to address the audience, burst into tears, rushed out of the assembly, and shut himself up in his chamber. His countenance indeed and behaviour, as he himself informs us, from that day till the day that he was compelled to present himself in the public place of preaching, sufficiently declared the grief and trouble of his heart: for no man saw any sign of mirth from him, neither had he pleasure to accompany any man for many days together.

This proof of the sensibility of his temper, as Dr. M'Crie observes, may surprise those who have carelessly adopted the common notions respecting his character. It will, also, deeply interest such, as are impressed with the weight of the ministerial function; reviving as it does the memory of those early days of the church, when persons did not rush forward to the altar,\* nor beg to be *put into one of the priests' of-*

and by his talents and integrity, obtained finally a seat in the Court of Session and in Parliament. At the beginning of Arran's regency, he was made Secretary of State.

Rough, from his reputation as a preacher, had been appointed Chaplain to the Regent, and was of course dismissed to poverty and peril upon that nobleman's apostasy.

\* Ησχυθην ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσοι μὴδὲν τῶν πολλῶν οὐκ βελτίους, πόρρω μὲν ἢ ἢ μὴ καὶ πολλὰ χρεῖς, αἰστικοὺς χρεῖς (ὅδε λεγέται) καὶ ἀμνηστίας

*fices, to eat a piece of bread;\** when men of piety and talents, awefully affected with the responsibility of the function, and with their own insufficiency; were reluctantly induced to take upon them those orders which they had long desired, and for which they had industriously laboured to qualify themselves. Lastly, it will severely reprove those, who become preachers of their own accord; and who from vague and enthusiastic desires of doing good, or a fond conceit of their own gifts, trample upon good order, and without any regular call thrust themselves into a sacred public employment.

“The first preachers against Popery in Scotland,” says Dr. Robertson, “of whom several had appeared during the reign of James V., were more eminent for zeal and piety than for learning. Their acquaintance with the principles of the Reformation was partial, and at second-hand. Some of them had been educated in England: all of them had borrowed their notions from the books published there; and, in the first dawn of the new light, they did not venture far before their leaders. But, in a short time, the doctrines and writings of the foreign reformers became generally known: the inquisitive genius of the age pressed forward in the quest of truth: the discovery of one error opened the way to others: the downfall of one imposture drew many after it: the whole fabric, which ignorance and superstition had erected

ψυχαις, τοις ἀγίατατοις ἑαυτὺς ἐπιστάνουσι. Καὶ πρῶτον ἀξιοὶ γινισθαι προσκυνῶναι τοῖς ἱεροῖς μεταποιῶνται τὸ βήματος, θλίβονται τε καὶ ὠδυνῶνται περὶ τὴν ἀγίαν τραπέζαν, ὥσπερ ἐκ ἀρετῆς τυποὶ, ἀλλ’ ἀφορμὴν βίβηται τὴν ταξὶν ταυτὴν εἶναι νομίζοντες, οὐδὲ λειτουργίαν ὑπεύθυνον, ἀλλ’ ἀρχὴν ἀνιζηταστων.

(Greg. Nazianz. Orat. Apol.)

\* 1 Sam. ii. 36.

in times of darkness, began to totter; and nothing was wanting to complete it's ruin, but a daring and active leader to direct the attack. Such was the famous John Knox, who with better qualifications of learning and more extensive views than any of his predecessors in Scotland, possessed a natural intrepidity of mind, which set him above fear."

Satisfied at length that he had the call of God to engage in the ministry, and not indifferent (it may be presumed) to the circumstance of his having already received orders, he ascended the pulpit, and at once discovered a degree of fortitude, eloquence, and learning, which, it was easily foreseen, would both astonish and confound his adversaries. In his first sermon upon Dan. vii. 24, 25, instead of trifling with the subject, he boldly proved to the satisfaction of his auditors, that 'the articles of the Romish church were directly contrary to the doctrine of Christ and his apostles.' \*

This sermon made a considerable noise; and the Popish clergy being much incensed at it, the Abbot of Paisley (who had been recently nominated to the see of Andrew's, though not yet consecrated) addressed a letter to the Sub-Prior,† expressing his sur-

\* The doctrine, which Knox then delivered, and of which Dr. M'Crie has given a brief synopsis, was subsequently put into "ornate meeter" by one of his hearers, Sir David Lindsay; who in his 'Monarchie' (finished in 1553) has given a particular account of the rise and corruptions of Popery, under the name of the 'Fifth Spiritual and Papal Monarchie.'

† As Vicar-General, *sede vacante*. His name was Winram, and in his heart he was friendly to the Reformed tenets; but he durst not altogether disregard this admonition. The Bishop-elect, from whom he received it, was John Hamilton, an illegitimate

prise, that 'such heretical and schismatical opinions were suffered to be propagated without opposition.'

Upon this rebuke, every official measure was taken to oppose Mr. Knox. A convention of the learned men in the Abbey and University was appointed to be held in St. Leonard's Yards, at which he and Rough were summoned to attend.\* Nine articles, drawn from their sermons, were exhibited against them: but to these Knox, for himself and his colleague, replied with so much address as well as acuteness, that he avoided incurring ecclesiastical censure. In particular, the Sub-Prior having enjoined all the divines in St. Andrew's, who were appointed to preach by rotation in the parish-churches on Sundays, to avoid controversial points, the discourses of the great Reformer upon such occasions were properly guarded; but, as the injunction did not extend to other days, he made compensation to his Protestant auditors by preaching frequently on week-days, with unbounded latitude, against the errors of Popery. Converts were, daily, made to the new doctrines; and on his venturing (which he first did) to administer the sacrament publicly † in Scotland according to the rites of the Reformed Church, such was the zeal he had inspired, that all the people in the Castle, and many of the inhabitants of the town,

brother of the Regent, and as bitter a foe to Knox and his party as his predecessor.

\* Of this disputation, and of what he taught in general at St. Andrew's (with a Confession of his Faith) he drew up an account, when free from fever, during the tedious hours of his subsequent captivity on board the French galleys.

† It had been previously administered by Wishart in the same Castle, with great privacy, immediately before his martyrdom.

joined in communion with him. But this rapid success only lasted from Easter till July 31, 1547, when the fortress was surrendered to the French. Upon that event, Mr. Knox was carried with the garrison to France, and remained a prisoner on board the galleys, bound with chains, and exposed to all the indignities usually inflicted upon 'heretics.'

In the summer of 1548, these floating dungeons sailed for Scotland, and continued a considerable time watching for English vessels on the eastern coast. One day, when they were becalmed off the city of St. Andrew's, a fellow-prisoner desired him as he lay upon a bench, overcome with toil and sickness, to 'see whether he could recognise the spires and the turrets before them?' The fervent minister looked up, and, in that prophetic spirit of holy confidence and sublime resolution, which frequently realises its own predictions, replied; "Yes, I know them well: I see the steeple of that place, where God first opened my mouth in public to his glory! And I am fully persuaded, how weak soever I now appear, that I shall not depart this life, till my tongue shall again glorify him in the same place."

His health was now greatly impaired by the severity of his confinement, and he was seized with a fever, during which his life was despaired of by all on board. But, even in this state, his magnanimity and his hopes remained unsubdued. He had not, however, uniformly possessed the same elevation of mind throughout the whole period of his imprisonment. When first thrown into fetters, insulted by his enemies, and deprived of all prospect of release, he felt that conflict in his spirit with which all good men are acquainted, and which often becomes pecu-

liarly sharp when aggravated by corporal affliction. But having had recourse to prayer, the never-failing refuge of the oppressed, he was relieved from his fears.\*

\* The following account of the exercise of his mind, during his confinement, is transcribed from his treatise 'On Prayer:'

'I mean not (says he) that any man, in extremity of trouble, can be without a present dolor, and without a greater fear of trouble to follow. Trouble and fear are the very spurs to prayer. For when man, compassed about with vehement calamities and vexed with continual solicitude, having by help of man no hope of deliverance, with sore oppressed and punished heart, fearing also greater punishment to follow, from the deep pit of tribulation doth call to God for comfort and support, such prayer ascendeth into God's presence and returneth not in vain.' Having illustrated this from the exercise of David, as described in the Seventh Psalm, he proceeds: 'This is not written for David only, but for all such as shall suffer tribulation to the end of the world. For I, the writer hereof (let this be said to the laud and praise of God alone) in anguish of mind, and vehement tribulation and affliction, called to the Lord; when not only the ungodly, but even my faithful brethren, yea and my ownself (that is, all natural understanding) judged my cause to be irremediable: and yet in my greatest calamity, and when my pains were most cruel, would his eternal wisdom that my hands should write far contrary to the judgement of carnal reason, which his mercy has proved true. Blessed be his holy name! And therefore dare I be bold in the verity of God's word to promise that, notwithstanding the vehemency of trouble, the long continuance thereof, the desperation of all men, the fearfulness, danger, dolor, and anguish of our own hearts, yet if we call constantly to our God, beyond expectation of all men he shall deliver.' After showing that prayers for temporal deliverance ought always to be offered up with submission to the divine will, that God often delays the deliverance of the body while he mitigates the distress of the spirit, and sometimes permitteth his saints 'to drink, before the maturity of age, the bitter cup of corporal death, that thereby they may receive medicine and cure from all infirmity,' he adds; 'Albeit we see therefore no apparent help to ourselves, nor yet to others afflicted, let us not leave to call (thinking our prayers

Being at liberty about February, 1549,\* he passed to England, where by the death of Henry VIII. and through the zeal of Cranmer the Reformation was now advancing; and was appointed preacher, first at Berwick for two years, and next at Newcastle.

While he was thus employed at Berwick, he received a summons, in 1550, to appear before Tunstall Bishop of Durham, for having delivered a sermon against the Mass. Upon this occasion, to the complete confusion of that Prelate and his assessors, he engaged to prove that the Mass, "even in her most high degree," and when stripped of the meretricious dress in which she now appeared, was an idol struck from the inventive brain of supersti-

to be vain) for whatsoever come of our bodies, God shall give unspeakable comfort to the spirit, and shall turn all to our commodities beyond our own expectations. The cause that I am so long and tedious in this matter is, for that I know how hard the battle is between the spirit and the flesh, under the heavy cross of affliction, where no worldly defence but present death doth appear. I know the grudging and murmuring complaints of the flesh: I know the anger, wrath, and indignation which it conserveth against God, calling all his promises in doubt, and being ready every hour utterly to fall from God; against which rests only faith, provoking us to call earnestly and pray for assistance of God's Spirit, wherein if we continue, our most desperate calamities shall he turn to gladness and to a prosperous end. To thee, O Lord, alone be praise, for with experience I write this and speak.'

\* Whether the galley in which he was confined was taken by the English, or he was liberated by order of the King of France, as clearly innocent of participation in the murder of Cardinal Beaton, or his friends ransomed him by a sum of money in order to open to him anew the career of useful exertion, does not fully appear. Most probably, as the young Queen of Scotland was now married to the Dauphin, the French court looked upon him and his brethren with comparative indifference.



tion, which had supplanted the Sacrament of the Supper, and engrossed the honour due to the person and sacrifice of Jesus Christ. "Spare no arrows," was the motto, which Knox bore on his standard: the authority of Scripture and the force of reasoning, grave reproof and pointed irony, were the weapons which he alternately employed.\*

In December 1551, he was appointed one of the six Chaplains,† whom the Council thought proper to retain in the service of Edward VI., not only to attend the court, but also to be itinerary preachers throughout the kingdom; and in the ensuing year, he received a grant of forty pounds *per ann.*, till some benefice in the church should be conferred upon him. Having been consulted about the Book of Common Prayer, which was then undergoing a revision, he had sufficient influence to procure an important change in the Communion-Office, completely excluding the notion of the corporeal presence of Christ in the Sacrament. "God (he tells us) gave boldness and knowledge to the Court of Parliament,

\* Extracts from his 'Defence,' which is now a rare tract, are given by Dr. M'Crie, in the notes to his 'Life of Knox,' I. 379—382.

† "Two ever to be present (says his Majesty, in a 'Journal of important Transactions' written with his own hand) and four absent in preaching: one year two in Wales, two in Lancashire and Derby; next year two in the Marches of Scotland, and two in Yorkshire; the third year two in Norfolk and Essex, and two in Kent and Sussex. These six to be Bill, Harle (made Bishop of Hereford in 1553), Perne, Grindal (afterward raised successively to the sees of London, York, and Canterbury), Bradford, and ———" [Knox, as proved by Strype.] Bradford and Knox were, subsequently, excluded from the list. Both of them, however, preached in their turn before the Court in 1553.

to take away the round-clipped God." These alterations gave great offence to the Papists.\* In 1552, he was likewise employed, with his brother-chaplains, in revising the Articles of Religion,† previously to their parliamentary ratification.

During his residence at Berwick he paid his addresses to Miss Margery Bowes, a lady of an honourable family, being nearly allied to Sir Robert Bowes, a distinguished courtier during the reigns of Henry VIII. and his son Edward. By the young lady herself, and her mother, he was favourably received: but from the presumed aversion of her father, as it has been conceived, they deemed it prudent to delay solemnising the union. Henceforward, however, he conceived himself sacredly bound to her by promise, and invariably in his letters ‡ designated Mrs. Bowes by the name of mother.

Presaging apparently, that the golden opportunity

\* In a disputation with Latimer, after the accession of Queen Mary, the Prolocutor (Dr. Weston) complained of Knox's intervention upon this occasion: "A runagate Scot did take away the adoration, or worshipping, of Christ in the Sacrament, by whose procurement that heresy was put into the last Communion-Book; so much prevailed that one man's authority at that time."

In the Liturgy, it may be added from Dr. M'Crie, which was attempted to be imposed upon the Scottish Church in 1637, all the qualifications and explications in the last Prayer-Book of Edward VI. were totally excluded, and various expressions and gestures favourable to the old superstition were unblushingly substituted in their place. But the rulers of the church in the three kingdoms were then posting fast to Rome, when they were overturned in their mad career.

† They were, at this time, forty-two in number. In 1562, they were reduced to thirty-nine.

‡ See the Extracts.

would not be of long duration, he was now eager to "redeem the time:" in addition to his ordinary service on the Sundays, preaching frequently upon every day of the week; and often employed in conversing with persons, who applied to him for advice on religious subjects. The Council were not insensible to the value of his labours. By letters to the governors and principal inhabitants of the places where he preached, they recommended him to notice and protection: they secured to him the regular payment of his salary; and, as a farther proof of their high respect, in September 1552 they granted to his brother William Knox, by patent, permission for a limited time to trade to any port of England, in a vessel of a hundred tons burthen.

He could not, however, escape the hostility of the Catholics of the North. In a sermon delivered about Christmas 1552, having asserted that 'such as were enemies to the Gospel then preached in England were secret traitors to the crown and commonwealth, thirsted for nothing more than his Majesty's death, and cared not who should reign over them, provided they got their idolatry again erected,' he was accused of high misdemeanors before the Privy Council. Profligate and ambitious, the haughty Duke of Northumberland had not heard him lament the fall of Somerset, which he had himself accomplished, with indifference: and he had accordingly, previously to the occurrence just mentioned, applied to the Council by letter for his removal.

But though powerful enemies had been extremely industrious in endeavouring to excite prejudices against him, his illustrious Judges, convinced of their malice, gave him an honourable acquittal. He was

employed to preach before the Court; and his Majesty, delighted with his discourses, was anxious to have him promoted in the church. The Council resolved, that he should preach in London and the southern counties during the following year; allowing him however to go for a short time to Newcastle, either that he might settle his affairs in the North, or that a public testimony might be borne to his innocence in the place where it had been attacked.

About the beginning of February, 1553, he returned to London. In the February preceding, Archbishop Cranmer had been directed to present him to the vacant living of All-Hallows in the city: but this, as he did not feel himself disposed entirely to conform to the English Liturgy, he thought proper to decline.

Upon his refusal, he was called before the Council and informed, that ‘they were sorry to find him of a contrary mind to the common order.’ Knox replied, ‘he was sorry “the common order” was contrary to Christ’s institution;’ alluding to some ceremonies still retained in the Church of England, to which he objected. On the same ground, we learn both from Beza and himself, he refused a bishopric, vehemently condemning all ecclesiastical dignities.\* He continued, however, to hold his appointment of public

\* Tunstale being sequestered upon a charge of misprision of treason, the Council had come to a resolution to divide his extensive diocese into two, the seat of one of which was to be at Durham, and of the other at Newcastle. Ridley, Bishop of London, was to be translated to the former; and it is highly likely, that Knox was intended for the latter. “He was offered a bishopric (says Brand) probably the new-founded one at Newcastle, which he refused—*reverà noluit episcopari.*”

preacher. Of the boldness of his court-discourses we may form a judgement from the account, which he has given of the last he delivered before his Majesty, upon John xiii. 18. In that, he directed several piercing glances of reproof at the haughty Premier, and his subtile relation the Marquis of Winchester, both of whom were among his hearers. ‘It had been often seen, he said, that the most excellent princes were surrounded with false officers and counsellors.’ Having inquired into the reasons, of this, and illustrated the fact from the scripture-examples of Achitophel under David, Shebna under Hezekiah, and Judas Iscariot under Christ, he added; “What wonder is it, then, that a young and innocent king be deceived by crafty, covetous, wicked, and ungodly counsellors? I am greatly afraid that Achitophel be counsellor, that Judas bear the purse, and that Shebna be scribe, comptroller, and treasurer.”

On the sixth of July, 1553, died Edward VI.; to the unspeakable grief of all lovers of learning, virtue, and true religion. This afflictive event did not find Knox unprepared. He had long anticipated it, with it's probable consequences; and he had frequently introduced it, as a subject of bitter anguish, into his public discourses, as well as his confidential conversations with his friends. Immediately after the proclamation of Mary, under a just apprehension of the measures which might be adopted by the new government, he appears to have withdrawn into the North. That Princess, however, with a view of conciliating her Reformed subjects, having promised not to do any violence to their consciences, in the August following he resumed his labours. At this period, most probably, he composed the ‘Confession

and Prayer,' \* commonly used by him in his congregations, in which he supplicated for Queen Mary by

\* " Omnipotent and everlasting God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who by thy eternal providence disposest kingdoms as best seemeth to thy wisdom, we acknowledge and confess thy judgements to be righteous, in that thou hast taken from us for our ingratitude, and for abusing of thy holy word, our native King and earthly comforter. Justly may thou pour forth upon us the uttermost of thy plagues, for that we have not known the days and times of our merciful visitation. We have contemned thy word, and despised thy mercies. We have transgressed thy laws; for deceitfully have we wrought every man with our neighbours: oppression and violence we have not abhorred: charity hath not appeared among us, as our profession requireth. We have little regarded the voices of thy prophets; thy threatenings we have esteemed vanity and wind: so that in us, as of ourselves, rests nothing worthy of thy mercies. For all are found fruitless, even the princes with the prophets, as withered trees, apt and meet to be burned in the fire of thy eternal displeasure. But, O Lord, behold thy own mercy and goodness, that thou mayest purge and remove the most filthy burthen of our most horrible offences. Let thy love overcome the severity of thy judgements, even as it did in giving to the world thy only son Jesus when all mankind was lost, and no obedience was left in Adam nor in his seed. Regenerate our hearts, O Lord, by the strength of the Holy Ghost. Convert thou us, and we shall be converted. Work thou in us unfeigned repentance, and move thou our hearts to obey thy holy laws. Behold our troubles and apparent destruction; and stay the sword of thy vengeance, before it devour us. Place above us, O Lord, for thy great mercies' sake, such a head, with such rulers and magistrates, as fear thy name, and will the glory of Christ Jesus to spread. Take not from us the light of thy evangelists, and suffer thou no papistry to prevail in this realm. Illuminate the heart of our Sovereign Lady, Queen Mary, with frequent gifts of thy Holy Ghost: and inflame the hearts of her Council with thy true fear and love. Repress then the pride of those, that would rebel; and remove from all hearts the contempt of thy word. Let not our enemies rejoice in our destruction; but look thou to the honour of thy own name, O Lord, and let thy gospel be preached with boldness in this realm.

name, and for the suppression of such as meditated rebellion. Having continued during the harvest months to preach in Kent and Buckinghamshire, recommending to his hearers every where a steady adherence to the faith which they had embraced, although the measures of government daily rendered his safety more precarious, in the beginning of November he returned to London.

At this time, also, it was his destiny to encounter a severe trial of a more private nature. Having solemnised his union with Miss Bowes, in opposition to the will of her father, who either from family-pride or from religious considerations (as he appears to have resolved to comply with the prevailing religion) resisted the match to the last, he in vain attempted through the medium of Sir Robert Bowes, by a candid explanation of circumstances, to procure an amicable settlement of the affair. That gentleman, instead of undertaking the proffered mediatorship, "with disdainful, yea despiteful words pierced his heart."

In the beginning of December, he retired to Newcastle. Soon afterward, his servant was seized as he carried letters from him to his wife and mother-in-law; and his papers were taken from him, with the hope of finding in them some matter of accusation against the writer. But they contained only religious advices, and exhortations to continue in the Protestant Faith.

If thy justice must punish, then punish our bodies with the rod of thy mercy. But, O Lord, let us never revolt, nor turn back to idolatry again. Mitigate the hearts of those that persecute us, and let us not faint under the cross of our Saviour; but assist us with the Holy Ghost even to the end."

At last, contrary to his own mind (for "never," as he observed, "could he die in a more honest quarrel") in January 1554, to avoid the storm of persecution raised by the bigoted and merciless Mary, upon the urgent entreaties of some of his wife's relations he left England, and crossed the sea to Dieppe.

Upon landing, one of his first cares was, to employ his pen in writing suitable advices to those, whom he could no longer instruct by his sermons and conversation. With this view, he transmitted to England two short treatises; an Exposition of the Sixth Psalm, begun at the request of Mrs. Bowes, and a large Letter addressed to his various congregations. How must the reader be struck with the animated strain of this epistle; when he reflects that it proceeded from a forlorn exile, in a strange country, without a single acquaintance, and ignorant alike where he should find a place of abode or the means of subsistence! \* Its conclusion furnishes a specimen at once of the most impressive eloquence, and the most elevated piety: "Alas! shall we, after so many graces that God has offered in our days, for pleasure or for vain threatening of them, whom our heart knoweth and our mouths have confessed to be odious idolaters, altogether without resistance turn back to our vomit and damnable idolatry, to the perdition of us and our posterity? O horrible to be heard! Shall God's holy precepts work no greater obedience in us? Shall nature no otherwise mollify our hearts? Shall not fa-

\* His 'Letter to the Faithful in London, &c.' concludes thus: "From a sore troubled heart, upon my departure from Dieppe, 1553 (N. S. 1554.) *whither God knoweth.*"



therly pity overcome this cruelty? I speak to you, O natural fathers. Behold your children with the eye of mercy, and consider the end of their creation. Cruelty it were, to save yourselves and damn them. But O more than cruelty, and madness that cannot be expressed, if for the pleasure of a moment ye deprive yourselves and your posterity of that eternal joy, that is ordained for them that continue in confession of Christ's name to the end! If natural love, fatherly affection, reverence of God, fear of torments, or yet hope of life move you, then will ye gainstand that abominable idol. Which if ye do not, then alas! the sun is gone down, and the light is quite lost, the trumpet is ceased, and idolatry is placed in quietness and rest. But if God shall strengthen you (as unfeignedly I pray that his Majesty may), then is there but one dark cloud overspread the sun for one moment, which shortly shall vanish, so that the beams afterward shall be sevenfold more bright and amiable than they were before. Your patience and constancy shall be a louder trumpet to your posterity, than were the cries of the prophets that instructed you: and so is not the trumpet ceased, so long as any boldly resisteth idolatry; and therefore, for the tender mercies of God, arm yourselves to stand with Christ in this short battle.

“ Let it be known to your posterity that ye were Christians, and no idolaters; that ye learned Christ in time of rest, and boldly professed him in time of trouble.                   \*                   \*                   \* ”

‘ Ye fear corporal death. If nature admitted any man to live ever, then had your fear some appearance of reason. But if corporal death be common to all, why will ye jeopard to lose eternal life, to escape

that which neither rich nor poor, neither wise nor ignorant, proud of stomach nor feeble of courage, and finally, no earthly creature by no craft nor *ingene* (wit) of man did ever avoid? If any escaped the ugly face and horrible fear of death, it was they, that boldly confessed Christ before men.—Why ought the way of life to be so fearful, by reason of any pain; considering that a great number of our brethren has passed before us by like dangers as we fear? A stout and prudent mariner in time of tempest, seeing but one or two ships, or like vessels to his, pass throughout every danger, and to win a sure harbour, will have good *esperance* (hope) by the like wind to do the same. Alas! shall we be more fearful to win life eternal, than the natural man is to save the corporal life? Have not the most part of the saints of God from the beginning entered into their rest by torment and troubles? And yet what complaints find we in their mouths, except it be the lamenting of their persecutors? Did God comfort them; and shall his Majesty despise us, if in fighting against iniquity we will follow their footsteps? He will not.”

From Dieppe he proceeded to Switzerland, where he was cordially received, and spent some time in visiting the particular churches, and conferring with the learned natives. After a short return to Dieppe, with a view of receiving information from England, he next repaired to Geneva; where he had not long resided, before he was invited conjointly with two others by the congregation of English refugees, then established at Frankfort, to become their pastor.\*

\* About the end of this year, afflicted by the persecution, and

This vocation, at the command of Calvin, who was then in the zenith of his reputation, he reluctantly obeyed; and he continued there, till some of the principal persons of his congregation, finding it impossible to persuade him to adopt the English Liturgy, resolved to effect his removal.\* With that view Dr. Cox, a Protestant exile,† and his party, took the most ungenerous measures to oblige him to quit the city. In his ‘Admonition to England,’ Knox with his usual boldness had asserted, that “the Emperor of Germany was no less enemy to Christ than ever was Nero.” His adversaries, taking advantage of this and other unguarded expressions, accused him to the magistracy of treason, against both their Sovereign and his own. The magistrates, finding that they would not have it in their power to save him, if he should be demanded either by the Emperor, or in his name by Queen Mary, gave him through his friend Whittingham private notice of the charge; which he no sooner received, than he set out for Geneva, and

still more by the apostasy, of many of his Protestant flock, he drew up his ‘Admonition to England;’ a tract, in which with great vehemence of spirit and bitterness of language, he holds up the Papists as objects of human execration and divine vengeance. Now, also, he seems to have made himself master of the Hebrew language. He was supported chiefly, at this period, by remittances from his English and Scottish friends.

\* The exiles of Zurich and Strasburg refused to combine with those of Frankfort, unless they would “use the same order of service concerning religion, which was in England last set forth by King Edward:” and this the latter refused to do, alleging, that ‘they had obtained the liberty of a place of worship upon condition of accommodating themselves as much as possible to the French protestants there assembled.’ Knox, for some time, mediated effectually between the contending parties.

† Preceptor to Edward VI., and afterward Bishop of Ely.

after remaining there a short time returned about the end of harvest, 1555, to Scotland: and repairing immediately to Berwick, had the satisfaction to find his wife and her mother enjoying the comfort of religious society with several individuals in that city.

Upon his arrival, as the professors of the Reformed Religion were much increased in number, and associated under the inspection of some teachers, he united himself with them, and addressed them from the pulpit: labouring more particularly to impress them with the impropriety of attending both the Popish and the Reformed worship, which many of them had been accustomed to do in order to avoid scandal. He subsequently accompanied John Erskine, the Laird of Dun, to his family-seat in the shire of Angus; and there preached daily to considerable numbers, among whom were the chief gentlemen of the district. Thence returning to West-Lothian, he resided principally in Calder-House with Sir James Sandilands,\* where he met with many persons of the first rank, and confirmed them in the truths of the Gospel.

He, afterward, preached for a considerable time at Edinburgh; and in 1556, at the desire of some Pro-

\* Commonly called Lord St. John, because he was chief in Scotland of the religious order of military knights of that denomination. He was now venerable for his grey hairs, as well as for his valour, sagacity, and sobriety, and had long been a sincere friend to the Reformed cause.

Among those who attended Knox's sermons at his house were Archibald Lord Lorn, John Lord Erskine (subsequently, Earl of Mar and Regent of Scotland) and Lord James Stewart, afterward Earl of Murray, and first Regent of Scotland during the minority of James VI.

Calder-House is, now, the seat of Lord Torphichen,

testant gentlemen, he traversed the west of Scotland, and lectured in many places in Kyle, the ancient receptacle of the Scottish Lollards, where were numerous friends of the new doctrines. He likewise visited the Earl of Glencairn, at his house of Finlayston in the county of Renfrew, and administered the Holy Supper to his Lordship's family. Thence he returned to the east, and took up his residence again at Calder-House, whither many resorted to him for the benefit of the sacraments: after which, proceeding a second time to the laird of Dun's, he officiated still more publicly than before.

Alarmed at his growing popularity, the Popish clergy (their Prelates having in vain solicited of the Queen Regent his apprehension) summoned him to appear before them in the church of the Black-Friars in Edinburgh, on the fifteenth of May, 1556; and, several gentlemen of distinction resolving to stand by him, he determined to obey the summons. But the prosecution was dropped, when his adversaries perceived such a strong party in his favour. On the day however, upon which he was cited, he went to Edinburgh, and preached to a more numerous audience than he had ever collected before: and in the Bishop of Dunkeld's house he instructed great numbers of people, who were desirous of embracing the Reformed Faith, twice a-day for ten days successively.

At this time, the Earl of Glencairn prevailed upon the Earl Marshal, and his trustee, Henry Drummond, to attend one of Knox's sermons. These both were extremely delighted with his discourse, and urged him to entreat the Queen Regent, by an earnest letter, to give his doctrines a fair hearing. This epistle, written with great care, and in point

of simplicity and energy of expression not exceeded by any composition of that period, was delivered into the Queen's hands by the Earl of Glencairn. Her Majesty having read it gave it to James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow,\* with this sarcastic expression, "Please you, my Lord, to read a pasquil?"† The taunt induced Knox to make some sharp and spirited additions to his Epistle, which he printed at Geneva in 1558.

While he was thus occupied in Scotland, he received letters from the Frankfort seceders at Geneva, entreating him to go thither; and he determined to accept the invitation. He had no sooner turned his back, however, than the Bishops renewed the summons against him, which they had deserted during his presence; and upon his non-appearance passed sentence against him for heresy, and burned him in effigy at the Cross of Edinburgh. Against this process he afterward printed at Geneva, in 1558, his famous 'Appellation from the cruel and most unjust sentence pronounced against him by the false Bishops and Clergy of Scotland, with his Supplication to the Nobility, Estates, and Commonalty of the said realm;' a master-piece of it's kind, not only for the defence of religious independency which it contains, but also for the elegance and the purity of it's composition.

Before the end of harvest 1556, Knox reached Geneva, and took upon him the charge of the English congregation, by whom he had been invited for the ensuing two years. This short period was the

\* Nephew of the Cardinal, who was assassinated.

† i. e. a Pasquin, or Pasquinade.

most quiet part of his life. In the bosom of his family he experienced that soothing care, to which he had hitherto been a stranger, and which his bodily infirmities now frequently required. Two sons were born to him within this interval. Affectionate toward their pastor, and cordial among each other, his flock were a great source of happiness to him. With his colleague, Christopher Goodman, he lived as a brother; and by Calvin, and the other Genevese ministers, he was treated with the highest respect. Neither personal accommodation however, nor literary society, nor domestic endearments, could subdue his ruling passion, or unfix his determination to re-visit Scotland as soon as an opportunity should offer for advancing the Reformation among his countrymen. It was therefore with no small delight, that he received in March 1557, from the Earl of Glencairn, and Lords Lorn, Erskine, and James Stewart, an express urging him to return home. His congregation were extremely unwilling to part with him: nevertheless, having consulted with Calvin and other ministers, they agreed, that he could not refuse such an obvious call without declaring himself at once rebellious to God and unmerciful to his country. Accordingly, having provided for his flock at Geneva, he reached Dieppe in his way to Scotland in October: But there he unexpectedly met with letters at variance with the former, apprising him that ‘fresh consultations had been entered into, and that many of those who had previously concurred in the invitation had recently begun to draw back.’

Upon the receipt of these advices, Mr. Knox despatched an exhortatory epistle in reply, denouncing ‘judgements against such as should prove inconstant.

to the new faith.' Beside this, he addressed several other letters from Dieppe, both to the nobility and to the inferior professors of the Reformed doctrines, in-joining them 'to give due obedience to authority in all lawful things;' which produced upon their minds such an effect, that they unanimously resolved to commit themselves, and whatsoever God had given them, into his hands, rather than suffer idolatry to reign, or the subjects to be defrauded of their religious liberties. To secure each other's fidelity to the common cause, they entered into a bond or Covenant at Edinburgh, December 3, 1557, from which period they were known by the title of 'the Congregation.'

At the end of 1557, having made a tour into the interior of France, and preached among other places at Rochelle, without receiving any answers (as he had expected) from his native country, he returned to Geneva. During the following year, he was engaged, with several learned men of his congregation, in making a new translation of the Bible into English, entitled, 'The Geneva Bible.' The same year, he printed there his treatise entitled, 'The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment (*Government*) of Women.\*' This was to have been followed by a 'Second'† and a 'Third

\* In this work, in which he displays more erudition and a greater compass of reading than in any of his other productions, he endeavours to prove that 'it was against nature, and contrary to Scripture and reason, to entrust to women the government of states and kingdoms.' He was chiefly induced to write it, by his detestation of the sanguinary government of Queen Mary of England, and of the attempts of the Queen Regent of his own country to establish arbitrary power.

† He added the heads of the 'Second Blast' to his 'Appel-



**Blast,** to the last of which he intended to affix his name; but Queen Mary dying soon after the appearance of the first, and her successor being regarded by him as an instrument raised up for the good of the Protestant faith, he advanced no farther.

In January, 1559, he left Geneva\* for the last time, to return to his native country; and having a strong desire, on his way thither, to visit his English hearers, he solicited leave through Sir William Cecil, Secretary of State, for that purpose. His petition however was so far from being granted, that his messenger very narrowly escaped imprisonment.† Knox's doctrine, indeed, contained in his '**First Blast,**' it appears, needed no sequel to disgust Elizabeth.

The refusal of his request, and the harsh treatment of his flock, touched to the quick his irritable temper; and it was with some difficulty that he suppressed his

lation,' which made it's appearance some months after the '**First.**' In the ensuing year appeared an answer to the '**Blast,**' under the title of '**An Harborow for Faithful Subjects.**' It proceeded from the pen of John Aylmer, one of the English refugees, who had been Archdeacon of Stowe and tutor to Lady Jane Grey. As it appeared after the accession of Elizabeth, Knox could not help surmising that prudence, quite as much as conscience, stimulated it's author, who became Bishop of London.

\* Previously to his departure, the republic conferred upon him the freedom of the city, which Calvin did not obtain till the December following: and to him and Alexander Aless, conjunctively, Bishop Bale (who had been one of his opponents at Frankfort) dedicated his work on Scottish Writers.

† And yet the blood-stained Bonner was permitted to traverse London unmolested: one Dr. Story, in her first parliament, had the effrontery to justify the cruelties of her predecessor, and to regret their inefficacy; and Tunstall, instead of being consigned (as Stapleton reports) to a prison, had for his dungeon Lambeth Palace, and for his provision the Archbishop's table.

desire of prosecuting a controversy, which he had resolved to abandon.\* But greater designs engrossed his attention; and, with a view of prosecuting them, he proceeded directly to Scotland.† The French, he had discovered, had determined to set up the claim of the young Queen of that kingdom to the English crown; and, as a preliminary measure, to suppress the Reformation in her inherited dominions. Convinced that the Scottish Reformers would be unable to resist their machinations, and that it was for the interest of England to give them effectual support, he laid before that court the whole of his information, his suspicions, and his projects; and, in spite of great discouragements, persevered until his endeavours were crowned with success. His arrival in Scotland was not long concealed from the clergy: within a few days, in virtue of a former sentence, he was publicly declared an ‘outlaw and a rebel.’ He hurried, therefore, immediately to Dundee; where he found the principal Protestants of Angus and Mearns assembled in large numbers.

A short time before this, the public exercise of

\* “My First Blast (says he in a letter, dated Dieppe, April 6, 1559) hath blown from me all my friends in England. My conscience bears record, that yet I seek the favour of my God, and so I am in the less fear. The ‘Second Blast,’ I fear, shall sound somewhat more sharp, except that men be more moderate than I hear they are.—England hath refused me; but because, before, it did refuse Christ Jesus, the less do I regard the loss of this familiarity. And yet have I been a secret and assured friend to thee, O England, in cases which thyself could not have remedied.”

† See the second book of his History, which contains a full account of his conduct, till the Protestants were obliged to apply to England.

the Reformed religion had been introduced into the town of Perth. Fired by this measure the Queen Regent, in bigoted subserviency to the politics of her brothers the Princes of Lorraine, had issued a mandate, summoning all the preachers of the new doctrines throughout the kingdom to a Court of Justice to be held at Stirling on the tenth of May. Conforming to a custom at that time prevalent in Scotland, and determined not to forsake their enlightened and intrepid instructors, the Protestant laity assembled in great numbers to attend their pastors. The Regent, intimidated at their approach, empowered a person of eminent authority with them to promise that the trial should be renounced, provided they advanced no farther. Delighted by this pacific overture, the principal part of the procession returned to their own habitations; the ministers only, with a few of the lay-leaders, remaining at Perth.

Notwithstanding this solemn engagement however, the Queen upon the appointed day ordered the persons who had been summoned to be called to trial, and on their non-appearance to be outlawed. By this base artifice, she totally forfeited the confidence of the whole nation; and, by disclosing to the Protestants her inveterate hostility, she excited them to stand boldly on their defence. ‘While their minds,’ says Dr. Robertson, “were in that ferment, which the Queen’s perfidiousness and their own danger occasioned, Knox mounted the pulpit, and by a vehement harangue against idolatry inflamed the multitude with the utmost rage. The indiscretion of a priest, who immediately after Knox’s sermon was preparing to celebrate mass, and began to decorate the altar for that purpose, precipitated them into

immediate action. With tumultuous but irresistible violence they fell upon the churches in that city, overturned the altars, defaced the pictures, broke in pieces the images, and proceeding next to the monasteries laid those sumptuous fabrics almost level with the ground. This riotous insurrection was not the effect of any concert, or previous deliberation. Censured by the Reformed preachers, and publicly condemned by the persons of most power and credit with the party, it must be regarded merely as an accidental eruption of popular rage."

It gave the Queen-Regent, however, a great advantage over her enemies. Magnifying the casual tumult into a designed and dangerous rebellion, she inflamed the minds of her more orthodox subjects against them, and collecting an army from the adjacent counties, threatened to lay waste the town of Perth with fire and sword. The Protestants indeed, by the promptitude and vigour of their preparations, induced her to propose overtures of accommodation: but in the observance of the stipulated conditions she was so little faithful,\* that several even of her own most respectable adherents, particularly the Prior of St. Andrew's and the young Earl of Argyle, distrusting her promises, deserted the court. Determined by the scandalous lives of the Romish clergy, their total neglect of the religious instruction of the people, and the gross profanation of the existing worship, to make a vigorous effort at Reformation, these noblemen fixed upon St. Andrew's as the place for commencing their operations, and appointed Knox to meet them

\* Robertson's account of this princess is more favourable than that of Dr. M'Crie; but I have preferred the latter.

in that city. The Archbishop, apprised of his design to preach in the cathedral, informed him that, 'if he made his appearance with that purpose, he would give orders to the soldiers to fire upon him.' On this, his noble friends strongly dissuaded him from the enterprise. But he firmly withstood all their importunities; and fired with the recollection of the part which he had formerly acted on that spot, and his own sanguine anticipations and prophecies, he intrepidly mounted the pulpit, and preached to a numerous assembly (including many of the clergy) without experiencing the slightest interruption.

The example of St. Andrew's, in abolishing the Popish worship, was quickly followed in other parts of the kingdom; and in the course of a few weeks at Crail, at Cupar, at Lindores, at Stirling, at Linlithgow, and at Edinburgh the houses of the monks were overthrown; and all the instruments, which had been employed to foster superstition, destroyed.\*

\* These proceedings were celebrated in the singular lays, which were at that time circulated among the Reformers:

‘ His cardinalles hes cause to mourne,  
 His bishops are borne a backe;  
 His abbots gat an uncouth turne,  
 When shavellings went to sacke.  
 With burges wives they led their lives,  
 And fare better than we:  
 Hay trix, trim gœe trix, under the greenwod-tree.

‘ His Carmelites and Jacobines,  
 His Domenikes had great adoe;  
 His Cordeiliars and Augustines,  
 Sanct Francis’ ordour to;  
 The sillie friers mony yeeris  
 With babling bleerit our ee.

Hay trix, &c.



He now wrote to Cecil, requesting permission to visit England, and in a letter which he inclosed to Queen Elizabeth attempted to apologise for his rude attack upon female government: but the ground upon which he advised her to found her title to the crown, and indeed the whole strain of his address, being more likely to aggravate than to extenuate his offence in the opinion of that high-minded Princess, the sagacious Secretary is supposed (by a practice not unfrequent with him) to have suppressed the communication, and to have influenced the Queen and Council in favour of the Scottish congregation by his own more powerful intercession.

Knox was selected to meet Cecil, incognito, at Stamford; but his journey being retarded by the danger of passing near the French, who lay at Dunbar, he was subsequently sent in company

ought to be obeyed, &c.' which at a later period occasioned him considerable trouble. As he subscribed in it to his colleague's opinion respecting female government, notwithstanding the intercession of the earls of Arran and Warwick with Elizabeth, she was so much displeased by his publication, that it was with great reluctance, and only after some years of comparative exile in Scotland, he was received into farther favour. Even then, in 1565, he was obliged to recant his offensive doctrines; and six years afterward he subscribed, in the presence of the Queen's ecclesiastical Commissioners, a more ample protestation of his obedience to that "good and godly" woman's sway. He was also harassed, on account of his non-conformity to the English ceremonies. He accompanied Sir Henry Sidney to Ireland, when he was employed to subdue the Popish rebels in that country. In 1580, he sent his salutations to Buchanan from Chester, where he then resided; and he died in that city in 1601.

His book was quoted, but for very different purposes, by Bancroft, '*Dangerous Positions*,' II. 1., and by Milton, in his '*Tenure of Magistrates*,' Prose Works, III. 196.

with Mr. Robert Hamilton, another Protestant minister, to manage the national concerns.

On reaching Berwick, they remained there some days with Sir James Crofts\* the Governor, who undertook to conduct their business for them, and advised them to return home. Cecil, also, transmitted an answer to the Protestant nobility and gentry (concerning their proposals to Queen Elizabeth) of so cool a description, that they had nearly resolved to break off the negotiation, had not Knox by his earnestness gained permission to address to the Secretary another letter. To this an answer was instantly returned, desiring 'that some persons of credit might be sent to confer with the English at Berwick,' and announcing, that 'a large sum was ready to be delivered for carrying on the common cause;' with a farther assurance that, 'if the Lords of

\* In a letter to this officer, Knox by a species of casuistry, which furnishes perhaps the only instance of his recommending dissimulation (a practice very foreign to the openness of his natural temper, and his blunt and rigid honesty) advises him, notwithstanding the peace then subsisting between England and France, to 'send a thousand men or two to assist in an attack upon the fortifications of Leith;' and "ye may declare them rebels to your realm," he adds, "when ye shall be assured that they be in our company." Croft, in his answer, repressed this impetuosity, commenting upon not only the iniquity but the grossness of the procedure; and Knox apologised for his 'unreasonable request.' So difficult is it to preserve Christian integrity, and simplicity, amidst the crooked wiles of political intrigue! Sir Ralph Sadler's 'State Papers,' lately published in two volumes 4to., throw great light upon this interesting portion of Scottish history.

Cecil affected to blame this 'audacity' of Knox, and yet in the same letter he advises Croft to adopt in substance the very measure, which he reprehends!



the Congregation were willing to enter into a league with Queen Elizabeth upon honourable terms, they should want neither men nor money.'

The effect of these negotiations was, the sending of an English army under the command of the Duke of Norfolk, to protect the Scottish Protestants against the persecutions of the Queen Regent, who was supported by the arms of France. But the invading forces being joined by almost all the great men in Scotland, a peace was concluded July 8, 1560. The subsequent intestine dissensions, which so long desolated France, may be regarded as having put an end to the French influence and the Roman Catholic religion in the latter country.

In the mean time, the zeal and activity of Knox in the cause of the Congregation exposed him to the deadly resentment of the Queen Regent and her party. A reward was publicly offered to any one, who should apprehend or kill him: and not a few, through hatred or avarice, attempted to gain it. But this did not deter him from traversing the country in the discharge of his duty. His exertions, indeed, were now incredibly great. By day he was employed in preaching, by night in writing letters on public business; so that 'in twenty-four hours (as he himself says, in a letter "written with sleeping eyes") he had not four free to natural rest and ease of his wicked carcase.' He was the soul of the Congregation; always found at the post of danger, always employed in animating the whole body, and defeating the schemes concerted to corrupt or to disunite them.

In the close of this year, he suffered a heavy domestic loss by the death of his valuable wife; who

after having shared in the hardships of his exile was removed from him, just as he had obtained a comfortable settlement for his family, leaving him in addition to his other cares the charge of two young children. His mother-in-law, indeed, was still with him: but, though he took pleasure in her religious conversation, the dejection of mind to which she was subject, and which all his efforts could never completely cure, rather increased than lightened his burthen.

Of the Scottish parliament, thus restored to its independency, a considerable majority had embraced the Reformed opinions; and encouraged as they were by the zeal and the number of their friends, they were not backward in improving the favourable juncture to the overthrow of the whole fabric of Popery. By one act, they sanctioned the ‘Confession of Faith’\* presented to them through Knox and his brethren: by a second, they abolished the jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Courts, and transferred the causes, previously subject to their cognisance, to civil decision; and by a third, they prohibited the exercising of religious

\* This ‘Confession’ was read first before the Lords of Articles, and afterward before the whole parliament. The Protestant ministers attended in the House to defend it, if attacked, and to give satisfaction to the members respecting any point that might appear dubious. Those, who had objections to it, were formally required to state them; and the farther consideration of it was adjourned to a subsequent day, that none might pretend an undue advantage had been taken, or a matter of such importance precipitately determined. On the seventeenth of August, the parliament resumed the subject; and, previous to the vote, the ‘Confession’ was again read, article by article. The Bishops said nothing. The Earl of Athol, and Lords Somerville and Borthwick were the only persons of the temporal estate, who voted in the negative; assigning this reason, “We will believe, as our forefathers believed.”

worship according to the rites of the Romish church. The manner however in which this last law was enforced, while it evinces their zeal, proves them at the same time to have been not less strangers to the principles of toleration and humanity, than the tyrants whose yoke they had just thrown off.

Their new scheme of ecclesiastical polity was adjusted, chiefly, under the influence and by the authority of Knox. Already from their own observation of the abuses of the Popish prelacy sufficiently disinclined to episcopacy, they were farther goaded by that Reformer, who during his residence at Geneva had viewed with admiration the church-regimen established by Calvin, to adopt the Presbyterian system of discipline. Yet was it not deemed expedient, in the outset, to depart altogether from the ancient form. Instead of Bishops, their great leader proposed to establish ten or twelve Superintendents in different parts of the kingdom; with power, as their name implied, to inspect the lives and doctrine of the inferior clergy, to preside in the inferior judicatories of the church, and to perform several other parts of the episcopal function.\* And in order to give greater strength and consistency to his system, Knox with the assistance of some other pastors drew up the ‘First Book of Discipline,’† which contained the model or platform of

\* Their jurisdiction, however, was confined to sacred things. They neither claimed a seat in parliament, nor asserted any pretension to the dignity of the former Bishops.

† The compilers of this work paid particular attention to the state of education. They required, that a school should be built in every parish for the instruction of youth in the principles of religion, grammar, and the Latin tongue; and pro-

the intended policy, and presented it to a convention of the estates held in the beginning of the year 1561.

In the course of this year, Mary Queen of Scots\* arrived in her native country, from which, though she was now only nineteen, she had been absent thirteen years; and, on the Sunday after her arrival, she commanded mass to be celebrated in the royal chapel.

posed that a College should be erected in every 'notable town,' in which logic and rhetoric should be taught along with the learned languages. Thus they seem, in fact, to have meditated a revival of the system adopted by some of the ancient republics, in which the youth were considered as the property of the community rather than of their parents; obliging the nobility and the gentry to educate their children, and furnishing means for the instructing of such of the lower classes as discovered talents for learning.

It is delightful to observe the restoration of religion and letters thus going hand in hand. Every where indeed the Reformation had the most powerful influence, direct and collateral, on the general promotion of literature. It roused the mind from its long lethargy and servility, induced the study of the sacred languages, threw open the Scriptures, discarded the unintelligible jargon of the schools, and admitted common sense to exercise its due sway in the decision of controversies.

\* Widow of Francis II, King of France. Sargent has attached to the common editions of his 'Mine' an Ode upon her journey, in which Knox and Cromwell are strikingly characterised. Brantome, also, has a pathetic passage upon the circumstances, which attended the first few miles of her voyage. Of a violent temper, and habits at once dissipated and superstitious, the growth of the Court of France, she speedily betrayed the disgust which she conceived for her natural subjects. "How sone that ever her French fillokes, fidlars, and otheris of that band gat the hous alone (says Knox, in his 'Historie') thair mycht be sene skipping not veray comelie for honest women. Her comune talk was in secrete, that 'sche saw nothing in Scotland bot gravity, quite repugned altogidder to her nature, for sche was brocht up in joyeusetie.'"

This step occasioned loud murmurs among the Protestants, who attended the court; and Knox with his accustomed boldness declared from the pulpit, that ‘one mass was more fearful unto him, than if ten thousand armed enemies were landed in any part of the realm, on purpose to suppress the whole religion!’ The animosity of the people indeed against Popery, aggravated by their apprehensions of seeing it restored, was so vehement, that the Queen’s servants belonging to the chapel were grossly insulted; and farther violence in all probability would have ensued, had not the Prior of St. Andrew’s, one of the heads of the Reformed party, seasonably interposed. Through his persuasion, chiefly, the Queen and her domestics were permitted to enjoy the exercise of their religion unmolested. But Knox’s freedom of speech was not so readily forgiven. Mary sent for him, and they held a long conference \* together, in the presence of her half-brother, the Prior of St. Andrew’s, upon different subjects; in the course of which, in answer to her charge, that ‘he had written a work against her just authority,’ he told her, that ‘as Plato, though in his book ‘Of the Commonwealth’ he condemned many things then maintained in the world, lived notwithstanding under such policies as were at that time universally received, without farther troubling of any state; even so was he content to do, in uprightness of heart, and with a testimony of a good conscience.’

\* Of this conference, Dr. M’Crie has preserved a very curious and interesting account, II. 30—39. The Reformer’s sentiments, though firm and earnest, were conveyed in a tone and manner implying the utmost respect; and furnishes abundant proof that the character and deportment of Knox has in nothing been more grossly misrepresented, than in the assertion that he treated his Sovereign with coarseness and incivility.

“And my hope is,” continued he, “that so long as you defile not your hand with the blood of the saints of God, neither I nor my book shall either hurt you or your authority; for in very deed, Madam, the book was written against that wicked Jezebel (Mary) of England.”

But his firm and uncourtly manner was not calculated to gain upon her mind, nor is there reason to think, that an opposite manner would have been more effectual. His admonitions, however, obliged her to act with greater moderation, and operated most beneficially in awakening the zeal and the fears of the nation, the two chief safeguards at that period of Caledonian protestantism.\*

\* That she designed to restore the Roman Catholic religion in Scotland, is a fact substantiated by many irrefragable authorities. See M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, II. note H. 303. This, Hume, for the purpose of misrepresenting the conduct of the Reformers toward her, assiduously keeps out of sight. His whole account indeed of the matter, from her arrival in Scotland until her marriage with Darnley, is to be regarded as an overcharged satire against not only the Reformation, but also the church and the manners of his native country. Knox never applied to her the name of 'Jezebel,' till she had ceased to have any claim upon his respect in her political capacity, as the Supreme Magistrate of the realm. And it is so far from being true (according to this subtle advocate of the Stuarts) that “her whole life was, from the demeanour of these men, filled with bitterness and sorrow,” that as Dr. M. observes, she retained all “her gayety and ease,” till by her imprudent marriage with Darnley she with her own hands planted thorns under her pillow. Her mass was never taken from her: she was allowed to indulge her feasting and her finery; nor was she ever interrupted in these amusements, except when her own husband deprived her of her favourite Italian fiddler, a loss for which she afterward took ample vengeance. That ‘she brought from the dissolute court of France, indeed, nothing but the innocent polish of their

In 1562, beside various other mediations imposed upon him both of a public and a domestic nature, he was employed in reconciling the Earls of Bothwell and Arran; a circumstance which, as the feud had already baffled the authority of the Privy Council, proves how much he was regarded by the most eminent persons in the kingdom. The same year, the Queen learnt, with high satisfaction, that her uncles were likely to recover their former interest at the court of France. Knox hearing of her behaviour, and apprehending that the re-instatement of her relations would operate to the prejudice of the Reformed Faith, delivered a sermon against the ignorance and vanity of princes, and their antipathy to virtue, and to all those in whom the love of virtue appeared. This and other expressions, in reproof of dancing for joy at the displeasure taken against God's people, coming to the ears of the Queen, her Majesty summoned him to a second conference. At the close of it he added (in a strain, which he sometimes used even on serious occasions) "Albeit at your Grace's commandment I am here now, yet can I not tell what other men shall judge of me, that at this time of day am absent from my book, and waiting upon the court!" "You will not always be at your book," said the Queen pettishly, and turned her back. As he left the room 'with a reasonable merry countenance,' some of the

manners, and escaped all it's criminal contagion,' is an assertion contradicted even by the confessions of her own friends. Hume himself owned, in his letter to Dr. Robertson, that his grand object was, to make "John Knox, and the Reformers, very ridiculous;" and that with this view, he had "drawn Mary's character with too great softenings." She was, besides, a crafty dissembler. (See M'Crie, II. 80—82.)

Popish attendants said in his hearing, "He is not afraid!" "Why should the pleasing face of a gentlewoman affray me (asked he, regarding them with a sarcastic scowl)? 'I have looked in the faces of many angry men, and yet have not been afraid above measure.'

This year also he was appointed, by the General Assembly, Commissioner to the counties of Kyle and Galloway; and, through his influence, several of the most eminent gentlemen entered into a Covenant, which was subscribed September 4, 1562. From Ayrshire, he proceeded to Nithsdale and Galloway; and thence he wrote to the Duke of Chatelherault, to caution him against his brother the Archbishop of St. Andrew's and the Earl of Huntley, whose counsels he judged might lead him into measures injurious to the Protestant interest. About the same time, likewise, he accepted the challenge of an eminent Papist\* to a public disputation upon the mass, which continued for three days, and was afterward printed.

In the beginning of the Queen's first parliament in 1563, Mr. Knox endeavoured to excite the Earl of Murray to exert himself for the purpose of getting the Protestant religion established by law; but find-

\* Quintin Kennedy, uncle to the Earl of Cassilis, and Abbot of Crosraguel. Of the tract above referred to, only one copy is known to exist at present, and that in the Auchinleck library. A small impression of this unique, an exact fac-simile of the original edition, has been recently printed by Mr. Boswell for the gratification of the curious.

In this dispute, Kennedy refers to a book which he had published in 1561, on the sacrament of the mass. This, which also is now extremely rare, was answered two years afterward by George Hay. Another work, likewise, by the Abbot has lately been printed from a MS. in the same library.



ing him less earnest than he had expected, a breach ensued between them, which continued for a year and a half: and, after the bill was rejected, in a sermon\* before many of the members he expressed his sense of that matter with great vehemence, declaring in conclusion his ‘abhorrence of the Queen’s design of marrying a Papist.’ This gave farther offence; and her Majesty, sending for him a third time, complained, that ‘never prince had been handled as she was! She had borne with all his rigorous speeches against herself and her uncles, had sought his favour by all means, had offered unto him audience whenever he pleased to admonish her;’ and yet (she continued) ‘I cannot be quit of you. I vow to God, I shall be once revenged.’ On pronouncing these words, she burst into a flood of tears. When she had composed herself a little, he told her, that ‘out of the pulpit, he believed, few had occasion to be offended with him; but there he was not his own master, but bound to obey Him who commanded him to speak plainly, and to flatter no flesh on the face of the earth:’ and “whenever (he added) the nobility of

\* “I have been with you in your most desperate temptations,” exclaimed he, in a strain of impassioned eloquence; “in your most extreme danger, I have been with you. St. Johnston, Cupar-Moor, and the Craggs of Edinburgh are yet recent in my heart; yea, that dark and dolorous night, wherein all ye, my Lords, with shame and fear left this town, is yet in my mind; and God forbid, that ever I forget it! What was, I say, my exhortation to you, and what has fallen in vain of all that ever God promised unto you by my mouth, ye yourselves yet live to testify. There is not one of you, against whom was death and destruction threatened, perished, and how many of your enemies has God plagued before your eyes! Shall this be the thankfulness, that ye shall render unto your God; to betray his cause, when ye have it in your hands to establish it as you please?”

this realm shall consent that ye be subject to an unfaithful husband, they do as much as in them lieth to renounce Christ, to banish his truth from them, to betray the freedom of this realm, and perchance shall in the end do small comfort to yourself." At these words, Mary began again to weep and sob with great bitterness. The Superintendent of Angus (Erskine of Dun) who alone was permitted to attend the conference, a man of mild and gentle spirit, tried to mitigate her grief and resentment: he praised her beauty, and her accomplishments; and told her, that 'there was not a prince in Europe, who would not reckon himself happy in gaining her hand.' During this scene, the severe and inflexible mind of the Reformer displayed itself. He continued silent, and with unaltered countenance, until the Queen had given vent to her feelings. He then protested, that 'he never took delight in the distress of any creature; it was with great pain that he saw his own boys weep, when he corrected them for their faults, far less could he rejoice in her Majesty's sorrows: but since he had given her no just reason of offence, and had only discharged his duty, he was constrained, though unwillingly, to sustain her tears, rather than hurt his conscience and betray the commonwealth through his silence.\*' Inflamed by this apology, she ordered him instantly to leave her presence, and was only with considerable difficulty prevailed upon to desist from inflicting upon him a severe punishment.

The repeated declamations of the preachers, dic-

\* See Dr. M'Crie's eloquent and satisfactory vindication of Knox, in answer to the able but artful suggestions of Hume, upon his remaining unmoved, while 'youth, beauty, and royal dignity' were dissolved in tears before him, II. 92, 93.

tated by a zeal more sincere than prudent, kept the minds of the populace in a constant state of irritation. This in the autumn of 1563, during the Queen's absence on a progress through the West of Scotland, broke out in an unjustifiable act of violence. As mass (notwithstanding the removal of the court) continued to be celebrated in the chapel at Holyrood-House, the citizens of Edinburgh, released from the restraint usually imposed upon them by the Sovereign's presence or her guards, assembled in a riotous manner, and interrupted the service. Two of the most active, however, were seized, and a day was appointed for their trial. Knox, who regarded their conduct as meritorious, and who had been authorised by the preceding General Assembly to watch over the interests of Scottish Protestantism, immediately issued circular letters requiring 'all who professed the true religion to meet at Edinburgh on the appointed day, in order to comfort and assist their persecuted brethren.' One of these letters falling into the Queen's hands, it was resolved to prosecute the writer before the Privy Council on a charge of high-treason. Fortunately for the prisoner, almost all his judges not only were zealous Protestants,\* but had likewise themselves very recently set the royal authority at defiance. Knox, therefore, was acquitted; and, shortly afterward, received the approbation of a succeeding General Assembly.

\* They resented also the attempt made by the Laird of Lethington, Secretary Maitland, to control them by calling the votes a second time in the Queen's presence; and firmly repeated their former decision. "That night (says the Reformer, in his 'History') was neither dancing nor fiddling in the court; for Madam was disappointed of her purpose, which was to have had John Knox in her will, by vote of her nobility."

In this Assembly, likewise, complaints of the increase of idolatry were assiduously urged. The Queen had never consented to hear one of the new preachers: her bigoted attachment to the church of Rome continued unabated: she had given her friends on the continent repeated assurances of her determination to re-establish Popery; and she had industriously evaded ratifying the acts of parliament passed in favour of the Reformation. By the vigilance of the Protestant ministers none of these alarming circumstances escaped unobserved. Neither were their jealousies allayed, or their apprehensions diminished, when they observed the increasing coolness of their lay-leaders, who were now servilely devoted to the court. These jealousies and apprehensions they announced to the people in language, which they deemed suitable to the necessities of the times, but which the Queen regarded as disrespectful and insolent. In a meeting of the General Assembly, Maitland publicly accused Knox of 'seditiously instructing subjects to resist those sovereigns, who trespass against the duty they owe to their people.' What Knox had taught, he was not backward to vindicate. And upon this general doctrine of resistance (says Dr. Robertson) so just in it's own nature, but so delicate in it's application to particular cases, there ensued a debate, which "admirably displays the talents and character of both the disputants: the acuteness of the former, embellished with learning, but prone to subtilty; the vigorous understanding of the latter, delighting in bold sentiments, and superior to all fear."

In March 1564 Knox, who had now remained a widower upward of three years, contracted a second

marriage with Margaret Stewart, daughter of Lord Ochiltree, a nobleman of amiable disposition, who had upon former occasions steadily adhered to the Reformer, when deserted by his other friends: and she continued to discharge the duties of a wife to him, with pious and affectionate assiduity, until the time of his death.\*

In 1565, Lord Darnley (now husband to the Queen) was advised by the Protestants about court to hear Knox preach, with a view of conciliating to himself the good will of the people. Darnley, accordingly, complied; but he was so much offended by the discourse, that he not only on his return to the palace refused to taste dinner, but also complained to the Council, who immediately ordered the preacher before them, and silenced him to the great annoyance of the city for some days.†

The General Assembly, which met in December this year in their fourth session, appointed Mr. Knox to draw up a “comfortable letter” in their name, to encourage the ministers to continue in their vocations

\* This marriage the Popish writers have represented as a proof of his ambition; ridiculously imputing to him the project of aiming to raise his progeny to the throne of Scotland, because the family of Ochiltree were of the blood-royal, and absurdly affirming, that ‘he gained the young lady’s heart by means of sorcery and the assistance of the devil!’

† His text indeed, from Isaiah xxvi. 13, 14, was extremely striking, and his application of it still more remarkable: *O Lord our God, other lords beside thee have had dominion over us, &c.* Hence he took occasion to speak of the government of wicked princes, who for the sins of the people are sent as tyrants and scourges to chastise them; and in one part of the sermon, he quoted from Scripture, “I will give children to be their princes, and babes shall rule over them—children are their oppressors, and women rule over them.”

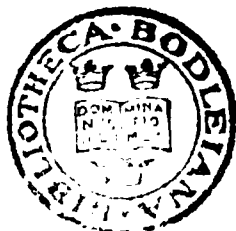
which (many, for want of subsistence, had been tempted to abandon) and to exhort the professors of the realm to supply their necessities. He was, also, appointed by this Assembly to visit, and plant kirks in the south.\* On the Queen's return to Edinburgh, after the assassination of Rizzio, though there is no reason to consider Knox as privy to that conspiracy, he deemed it prudent (as he had, probably, expressed his satisfaction at the event) to withdraw to Kyle. She determined, as far as she could, to prevent his return to his flock in the capital.

Thus banished, he requested permission of the next General Assembly, which met in December 1566, to visit two of his sons settled in England, and also to transact some other business: and he received from them a twelvemonth's leave of absence, with ample testimonials of his life, doctrines, and pastoral usefulness, and a strong recommendation to Protestant hospitality. He, also, carried with him to the English Bishops a letter from the Assembly, drawn up by himself, complaining of their severe treatment of the Puritans their fellow-countrymen, and soliciting for them milder usage.

In 1567, he preached, in the parish-church of Stirling, a sermon at the coronation of James VI. (afterward James I. of England); Queen Mary, on the appointment of the Earl of Murray to the regency, having been obliged to resign the government.† The first parliament, summoned by

\* The Commissioners from St. Andrew's, likewise, were instructed to petition that he might be transferred to their city, as he had there commenced his ministry: but their request was refused.

† Of her participation in the black tragedy of Darnley's murder, notwithstanding all that Goodall and Tytler and Stuart



the Earl, met upon the fifteenth of December. It was a numerous convention of all the estates, and Knox delivered an animated and zealous discourse at its opening. It then proceeded to ratify all the acts passed in 1560 in favour of the Protestant religion, and to add others of a similar character.

To detail the particulars of the murder of Murray, "the good Regent," by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh,\* or the anguish it excited both from public and private considerations in the heart of Knox, who preached his funeral sermon, would be disproportionately long: but it is necessary to refer to it, not only as it forms an important feature of Scottish History, but also as, in conjunction with the national confusion to which it gave birth, it preyed upon the Reformer's spirits, and subjected him in the October following to a stroke of apoplexy, which to a great degree affected his speech. As a proof of the high consideration in which he was held, it may be mentioned,

and Whitaker have alleged, who can doubt; after what has been so irrefragably urged by Hume, and Robertson, and (beyond both in acuteness, and in accuracy) the calm and cautious Laing?

\* Nephew of the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, from whose house in Linlithgow he shot his victim. To aggravate the atrocity of the transaction, he had been pardoned by the Regent, when brought out upon a former occasion, as a rebel, for execution. And yet a living author, and he too of highly respectable talents and erudition, appears to exult in the murder! The monument to Murray's memory, in the 'Old Church' of St. Giles', is inscribed with the simplicity and brevity characteristic of genuine grief by Buchanan; who has, also, in his History reared to him 'a monument more durable than brass' (xix. 54.) and celebrated him in four short copies of verses, Epigr. ii. 29. iii. 7, 9, 18.

that his enemies circulated the most exaggerated tales respecting his disorder: 'John Knox would never preach, nor speak more!' 'His face was turned into his neck!' 'He was become the most deformed creature ever seen!' 'He was actually dead!' In spite however of these asseverations, though he never indeed fully recovered from the debility consequent upon the attack, he was able within a few days to re-ascend the pulpit.

In 1571, the Hamiltons and others, who had entered into a combination in favour of the Queen against the Earl of Lenox, then Regent, began to fortify the town of Edinburgh. While they were thus employed, Kircaldy of Grainge, the Governor of the Castle, who had apostatised to their party, at one of their councils proposed, 'that they should give security for the person of Mr. Knox, which was also much desired by the town's people.' The Hamiltons replied, that they could not promise him security upon their honour; 'because there were many rascals and others among them, who loved him not, that might do him harm without their knowledge.' Upon this answer, and from the circumstance of a musket-ball being fired through his window, which lodged in the roof of his apartment, his friends in the town, with Mr. Craig (his colleague) at their head, entreated him to leave the place: and in compliance with their request, he proceeded on the fifth of May, 'sore against his will,' to St. Andrew's, where he remained till the twenty-third of August, 1572.

This year there was a convention of the ministers at Leith, when it was agreed, that a certain kind of



episcopacy should be introduced into the church, which Knox however strenuously opposed.\* The troubles of the country being now considerably abated, and the people of Edinburgh having been restored to their homes, they sent two of their number to St. Andrew's, to invite Mr. Knox to return. To this he consented, on the express condition, 'that he should not be desired in any sort to cease speaking against the treasonable dealings of those, who held out the Castle of Edinburgh;' and he repeated these words to his friends more than once, before he entered the pulpit. They answered, that 'they never meant to put a bridle upon his tongue, but desired him to speak as in former times according to his conscience.' Accordingly, under this arrangement on the last day of August, he addressed the public in the great kirk: but his voice was become extremely weak, and he therefore desired another place to teach in, which

\* The plan was, that the name and office of Archbishop and Bishop should be continued during the King's minority, and these offices be conferred upon the best qualified among the Protestant ministers; but that, with regard to their spiritual jurisdiction, they should be subject to the General Assembly of the Church. The rules to be observed in their election, and the persons likewise who were to supply the place and enjoy the privileges of the Deans and Chapters, were particularly specified. The whole being laid before the General Assembly, after some exceptions to the names of Archbishop, Dean, Chapter, &c. and a protestation that 'it should be considered as merely adopted until a more perfect constitution could be introduced,' it obtained the approbation of that austere court. Even Knox, whose ill health prevented his attendance upon the occasion, though he declaimed loudly against those simoniacal pactions between patrons and incumbents, which stripped the latter of a great portion of their legitimate income, appears to have concurred in this approval.

was granted. He continued to preach in the Tolbooth, as long as he had strength; but his health received a dreadful shock from the news of the massacre of the Protestants at Paris on St. Bartholomew's Day. He introduced it however into his next sermon, with his usual denunciation of God's vengeance, of which he desired the French Ambassador, Le Crocq, might be apprised. On Sunday, November 9, 1572, he admitted Mr. Lawson\* to be minister of Edinburgh; but in a tone so feeble, that few could hear him. In his discourse upon this occasion, he declared 'the mutual duty between a pastor and his flock; praised God, who had given them one in his room, implored him to augment the graces of their new guide a thousand-fold above what he himself had possessed, if it were his pleasure,' and with a cheerful but exhausted voice pronounced the blessing. He then descended from the pulpit, and leaning upon his staff, crept down the street lined with his audience, who as if anxious to catch a last glimpse of their beloved pastor, followed him until he entered his house. He never again quitted it alive.†

From this time, indeed, his approaching dissolution was anticipated with deep concern by all his friends. Unwearied application to study, continual agitation in business, and the frequency and fervor of his public preaching had worn out a constitution originally very strong, and brought on a lingering decay; during which he discovered the utmost fortitude and

\* Who had been Sub-principal of King's College, Aberdeen.

† The particulars of his final decay during the last fortnight, and his death, are minutely given by Dr. M'Crie, II. 218—232. who has also drawn an able and elaborate character of him, ib. 250—260.

resignation, constantly employing himself in acts of devotion,\* and comforting himself with the assured prospect of immortality. He died November 24, 1572, aged 67.

The private life of this eminent Reformer was irreproachable, and his declamations against vice and luxury have in them every character of that natural antipathy, which cannot be either counterfeited or dissembled. He "was the prime instrument (observes Robertson) of spreading and establishing the Reformed Religion in Scotland. Zeal, intrepidity, disinterestedness, were virtues which he possessed in an eminent degree. He was acquainted, too, with the learning cultivated in that age; and excelled in that species of eloquence, which is calculated to rouse and to inflame. His maxims, however, were often too severe, and the impetuosity of his temper excessive. Rigid and uncomplying himself, he showed no indulgence to the infirmities of others: and regardless of the distinctions of rank and character, he uttered his admonitions with an acrimony and vehemence, more apt to irritate than to reclaim. Those very qualities however, which now render his character less amiable, fitted him to be the instrument of Providence for advancing the Reformation among a fierce people, and enabled him to face dangers and to surmount opposition, from which a person of a more gentle spirit would have been apt to shrink back."

Principal Smeton's character of him is little liable to the suspicion of partiality, or of flattery: 'I know

\* His last will and words, addressed chiefly 'to the Papists and the Unthankful World,' and 'to the Faithful,' and containing no secular arrangements, is printed by Dr. M'Crie, II. 398. App. xvi.

not (says he) if ever so much piety and genius were lodged in such a frail and weak body. Certain I am, that it will be difficult to find one, in whom the gifts of the Holy Spirit shone so bright, to the comfort of the church of Scotland. None spared himself less in enduring fatigues of body and mind; none was more intent on discharging the duties of the province assigned to him.' And again, addressing his calumniator Hamilton, he says; 'This illustrious, I say *illustrious* servant of God, John Knox, I will clear from your feigned accusations and slanders, rather by the testimony of a venerable assembly, than by my own denial. This pious duty, this reward of a well-spent life, all of them most cheerfully discharged to their excellent instructor in Christ Jesus. This testimony of gratitude they all owe to him, who they know ceased not to deserve well of all, till he ceased to breathe. Released from a body exhausted in Christian warfare, and translated to a blessed rest, where he has obtained the sweet reward of his labours, he now triumphs with Christ. But beware, sycophant, of insulting him when dead: for he has left behind him as many defenders of his reputation, as there are persons who were drawn, by his faithful preaching, from the gulf of ignorance to the knowledge of the gospel.\*

In person, he was of small stature, and a feeble habit of body; a circumstance, which serves to give us a higher idea of the vigour of his mind. In his portrait, which seems to have been taken more than once during his life, may be discerned the traits of his characteristic intrepidity, austerity, and keen

\* Smetoni 'Responsio ad Hamiltonii Dialogum.' Edinb. 1579.

penetration. His beard, according to the custom of the times, he wore reaching to his middle.

He was interred with great solemnity in the kirk-yard of St. Giles', the corpse being attended by several of the nobility then in Edinburgh, particularly by the Earl of Morton (on that day chosen Regent) who, as soon as he was laid in his grave, exclaimed; "There lies a man who never in his life feared the face of a man, who hath been often threatened with dag and dagger, but yet hath ended his days in peace and honour. For he had God's providence watching over him in an especial manner, when his very life was sought:" an eulogium, according to Dr. Robertson, the more honourable, as it came from one whom he had often censured with peculiar severity.

He left behind him a widow and five children. His two sons by his first wife, Nathanael and Eleazar, were both educated at St. John's Collège, Cambridge, both became fellows of that society, and both died in 1580 and 1591 respectively without issue. His three daughters (by Margaret Stewart) who received with their mother a grateful pension from the General Assembly, and from the Regent Morton uniform attention and kindness, married clergymen; the youngest a Mr. John Welsh, minister of Ayr, who in 1605 was banished for having resisted James' attempt to overturn the Presbyterian constitution of his native church. After sixteen years of expatriation in France, his wife obtained access to James in 1622 to intercede for his return; and the conversation, which took place between her and her Sovereign upon the occasion, proves that she inherited all the spirit of her father. Her mother, subsequently,

married Sir Andrew Ker of Fadounside, a strenuous supporter of the Reformation.

Knox published several theological and controversial pieces in his own time, which were reprinted, and annexed to the fourth edition of his 'History of the Reformation of Religion within the Realm of Scotland, &c.' Fol. Edinb. 1732.

Dr. M'Crie has drawn up, in his 'Life of Knox,'\* a list of his various works, nineteen in number, and most of them very scarce; with the names of some others ascribed to his pen, but upon more dubious grounds. He has also, in his supplement, reprinted Davidson's 'Ane Breif Commendatioun of Uprichtnes, &c.' Quhairunto is addit in the end Ane Schort Discurs of the Estaitis quha hes caus to deploir the deith of this Excellent servand of God; from a copy (supposed to be unique) Imprentit at Sanctandrois be Robert Lekpreuik. Anno 1573. This should here have been given to the reader, and (as a curious specimen of the Scottish language and versification of that day) in the old orthography, if it had not been too long for the character of these volumes. The two last stanzas, however, are subjoined, with a coronis in Latin:

' For thocht his deith we do deploir,  
Zit is he not our God thairfoir;  
As wickit warldlings would obtend,  
' Gone is zour God quhairin ze gloir.'  
The leuing God we mak it kend,  
Is he, on quhome we do depend,  
Quha will not leave us in distres,  
Bot will his servands till us send,  
Till gyde us throw this wildernes.

\* II. Not. DD. 357—368.

Thairfoir letting thir Bablers be,  
 Quhais cheif Religioun is to lie,  
 And all Godds servands to backbyte,  
 Traducing this man principallie;  
 Let thame spew out in thair dispyte,  
 All that thay will be word or wryte.  
 Like as himself is into gloir,  
 Sa sall all ages ay recyte  
 John Knox's name with greit decoir.

*Quam tutum sit propugnaculum, Deo sine furo inservire, ex  
 mirificâ eximii Dei servi JOANNIS KNOXII in tranquillum vitæ  
 exitum illis omnibus impiorum conatibus, conservatione, et ejus  
 exemplum sequi, mouemur.*

*Quem petière diu crudeles igne tyranni,  
 Sæpius et ferro quem petière duces,  
 Occubuit (mirum) nullo violatus ab hoste,  
 Eximius Christi KNOXIUS ille sator.  
 Nam Pater Æthereus regum moderatur habenas,  
 Electosque potens protegit usque suos.  
 Muniat hinc igitur nostras fiducia mentes,  
 Ne mors nos tetricis terreat ulla minis.  
 Quòque minus trepidi sistamus tramite recto,  
 Hujus ne pigeat vivere more viri.\**

FINIS. Quod M. I. D.

\* He, for whom many a pyre it's vengeance breathed,  
 And many a chief his thirsty blade unsheath'd,  
 Calm to his tomb, unstruck of human fiends,  
 Bright teacher of his Saviour, KNOX descends:  
 For still the tyrant's rage Jehovah sways,  
 And still protects from harm his chosen race.  
 Hence be our souls in faith still vigorous found,  
 Though Death with ghastly terrors hem us round;  
 Nor grudge we—so the track of right to tread  
 More firm—like KNOX, a holy life to lead.

F. W.

*E Poematis Johannis Johnstoni Περὶ Στεφάνων.*

JOHANNES KNOXUS,

*Primus Evangelii Instaurator in Scotiâ, post superiora cruenta  
Illa tempora, obiit placidè Edinburgi xxiv. IXbris, horâ noctis  
undecimâ, 1572.*

## I.

*Hic ille est Scotorum KNOXUS Apostolus olim,  
Cui prior hos ingens Beza dedit titulos :  
Interpres cæli, vero qui Numine plenus  
Plurima venturi præscia signa dedit.  
Fœcundum pectus : libertas maxima fandi :  
Totus inexhausto flagrat amore Dei.  
Quam pia cura poli, tam humani meta furoris ;  
Tanto plus victor, quo furit iste magis.  
Post varios hostes aggressa Calumnia tandem  
Hoc didicit, nulli nec sibi habere fidem.  
Heroum pietas odio est mortalibus. Unum hoc  
Arguat, Heroem hunc cœlitus esse datum.*

## II.

*Cura Dei : Romæ pestis : Mundi horror ; et Orci  
Pernicies : Cæli fulmen ab arce tonans.  
Limite in hoc modico tanti jacet hospitis umbra.  
Umbra silet : tamen est hostibus horror adhuc.\**

## I.

\* KNOX, Scotland's prime Apostle, sleeps below ;  
And Beza bound these titles round his brow :  
Heaven's bright interpreter ; whose hand, controll'd  
By God's own breath, the coming times unroll'd :  
With teeming fancy, tongue by freedom fired,  
And boundless love of Deity inspired :  
Nor more by heavenly love than human hate  
Pursued, he conquers more, as swells the dire debate.  
Last, Calumny equips her for the joust ;  
And learns not even her own foul arts to trust.  
Man hates the race of heaven : let this suffice  
To prove our hero offspring of the skies.

F. W.



Knox's first love-letter is inserted, though (as it has been justly observed) so "overcharged with spiritual matters and godly exhortations, as to be quite unfit for every-day reading in the present worldly generation."\* But to the disrelish of stile and sentiment we will not superadd the difficulties of orthography.

*To Margery Bowes.*

Dearly beloved Sister in the common faith of Jesus our Saviour,

The place of John, forbidding us to salute such as bring not the wholesome doctrine, admonisheth us what danger cometh by false teachers, even the destruction of body and soul: wherefore the Spirit of

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II.

God's care, the pest of Rome, the world's pale dread;  
 Hell's bane, a bolt from heaven's own turrets sped:  
 The mighty shade is pent within this tomb,  
 And shakes, though mute, his foes with dread of wrath  
 to come.

F. W.

\* In some of the other Letters, remarks the same acute Critic, though there is quite as little of earthly love or ornamental writing, there is more of the high spirit of the man, and a tone of deep and serious attachment, which is not without a certain pathetic effect when coming from such a temper. In one, which was written when his prospects for the great cause had again become gloomy, he concludes; 'Nevertheless rejoice, Sister: for the same word, which forespeaketh terrible death, certifies us of the glory consequent. As for myself, if the extremity should now apprehend me, it is not come unlooked for. But I fear, that yet I be not ripe to glorify Christ by my death: but what lacketh now, God shall perform in his own time; and be sure, I will not forget you and your company, so long as mortal man may remember any earthly creature.'

God willeth us to be so careful to avoid the company of all that teach doctrine contrary to the truth of Christ, that we communicate with them in nothing to maintain or defend them in their corrupt opinion; for he that biddeth them 'God speed,' communicates with their sin, that is, he that appears by keeping them company, or assisting them in their proceedings, to favour their doctrine, is guilty before God of their iniquity; both because he doth confirm them in their error by his silence, and also confirms others to credit their doctrine, because he opposes not himself thereto: and so to bid them 'God speed' is not to speak unto them commonly as we for civil honesty to men unknown, but it is after we have heard of their false doctrine to be conversant with them, and so intreat them as they had not offended in their doctrine. The place of James teaches us, beloved Sister, that in Jesus Christ all that unfeignedly profess him are equal before him, and that riches or worldly honours are nothing regarded in his sight: and therefore would the Spirit of God, speaking in the Apostle, that such as are true Christians should have more respect to the spiritual gifts, wherewith God had endowed his messengers, than to external riches which oftentimes the wicked possess, the having whereof makes man neither noble nor godly, albeit so judge the wild affections of men. The Apostle condemneth such, as prefer a man with a golden chain to the poor; but hereof will I speak no more. The Spirit of God shall instruct your heart, what is most comfortable to the troubled conscience of your mother, and pray earnestly that so may be. Where the adversary objects, 'she ought not to think wicked thoughts;' answer thereto that is true, but

seeing this our nature corrupt with sin which entereth by his suggestion, it must think and work wickedly by his assaults: but he shall bear the condign punishment thereof, because by him sin first entered, and also by him sin doth continue till this carcase be resolved. And where he inquires what Christ is, answer he is the Seed of the woman promised by God to break down the serpent's head; which he hath done already in himself appearing in this our flesh, subject to all passions that may fall in this our nature, only sin excepted: and after the death suffered, he hath by power of his Godhead risen again triumphant victor over death, hell, and sin; not to himself (for thereto was he no debtor) but for such as trust salvation by him only, whom he may no more lose, than he may cease to be the Son of God and the Saviour of the world. And where he would persuade that such is contrary the word thereunto, he lies according to his nature, wherein there is no truth: for if she were contrary to the word, or denied it, to what effect so earnestly should she desire the company of such as teach and profess it? There is no doubt, but he, as he is the accuser of all God's elect, studieth to trouble her conscience, that according to her desire she may not rest in Jesus our Lord. Be vigilant in prayer. I think this is the first letter, that ever I wrote to you. In great haste, your brother

JOHN KNOX.

# MATTHEW PARKER,

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.\*

[1504—1575.]

**T**HE complete establishment of the Protestant religion in England supplies materials for a most interesting portion of ecclesiastical history.

One of the principal instruments in accomplishing this important achievement was Matthew Parker, the son of a reputable citizen of Norwich, in which city he was born in the year 1504. His father died, while he was still young; but having directed by his will, that he should be devoted to the church, his mother sent him at a proper age to Bene't College, Cambridge; where his lively genius, improved by assiduous application, speedily established his reputation as a scholar. In 1527, he entered into priest's orders, took the degree of M. A., and was chosen fellow of his college. At this time, a flattering testimony was borne to his abilities by Cardinal Wolsey, who offered him one of the first fellowships in his

\* **AUTHORITIES.** *Strype's Life of Parker*, *Neale's History of the Puritans*, *Warner's Ecclesiastical History of England*, *Sir James Ware's History of the Bishops of Ireland*, and *Stow's Chronicle*.

new seminary at Oxford; but, by the persuasion of his friends, he declined the invitation.

In 1533, his fame as a preacher reached the ear of Cranmer; who finding upon inquiry that his opinions favoured the Reformation, sent him a special licence to preach in his diocese, and recommended him to the notice of Henry VIII. The same year, his Majesty invited him to court; and the Queen (Anne Boleyn) delighted with a sermon preached before her, in which he avowed the principles of the Reformed Churches abroad, appointed him one of her chaplains, reposed in him the greatest confidence, and upon her fatal reverse of fortune gave him her private injunctions respecting the Princess Elizabeth, whose education she particularly wished to be entrusted to his hands. Thus was laid the basis of that Princess' attachment to her spiritual guardian.

Parker's first benefice was the Deanery of the College of Stoke in Suffolk, which Henry bestowed upon him through the Queen's solicitations in 1534. Here he laboured to reform the Popish institutions, which were practised in the college; drawing up new statutes for that purpose, and founding likewise a grammar-school for the gratuitous instruction of the children of the poor in sound learning and religion. From this time, to the death of his royal patroness, we meet with nothing remarkable concerning him, except an allegation, that 'in his sermons at St. Paul's Cross he exposed too freely the errors of the Romish church:' against which he defended himself with such success, that he was directed by the Chancellor Audley to persevere, regardless alike of menace and of accusation, in so good a cause.

On the fall of Anne Boleyn, Parker was made one

of the royal chaplains: and, throughout the remainder of Henry's reign, continued rising both in the University of Cambridge, and in the church. The degree of D. D. was conferred upon him in 1536. In 1541, he was installed Prebendary in the cathedral of Ely; and, in the following year, presented by the chapter of Stoke to the rectory of Ashen in Essex. This he resigned in 1544: upon which, he was presented to that of Birlingham All Saints in his native county of Norfolk. In the same year, he was elected Master of his College; and in 1545, he filled the Vice-Chancellorship, and was presented by his society to the rectory of Landbeach in Cambridgeshire.

He had indulged a tender affection for a young lady, of the family of Hawsstone in Norfolk, and a tender intercourse had been carried on between them for several years: but the Six Bloody Articles, one of which forbade the marriages of the clergy, being enforced about that period with uncommon rigour, their union was delayed till the statute was repealed on the accession of Edward VI. From the sequel it appears that the Papists, his avowed enemies, always kept their eye upon this event.\*

During the short reign of Edward, he chiefly distinguished himself as a zealous preacher in support of the Protestant doctrines; and under Kett the tanner of Norwich, he rendered himself still further obnoxious to his adversaries, by the share which he took in the suppression of the insurgents. For, as one of their countrymen, he with great intrepidity

\* With this lady's behaviour Bishop Ridley, on a visit to her husband, was so much delighted, that he inquired, 'Whether she had a sister like herself?' intimating probably, that he should have been happy to secure such a prize.

entered the rebel lines, and from the Oak of Reformation persuaded them to submit to the King, and to return to their families and occupations. This produced such an effect, that many dispersed; and their army, thinned of it's numbers, became an easy conquest to the royal forces under the Earl of Warwick. This eminent service, however, was performed at the peril of his life; for some of the leaders, aware of the probable consequences of his sermon, would have sacrificed him on the spot; had not a large party, more correctly estimating his friendly admonitions, conducted him safely out of the camp.

In 1551, he was included in a commission for correcting and punishing Anabaptists; under which term were probably comprehended, not only persons who rejected infant-baptism, but Arians, Pelagians, and others who administered the sacrament in a manner different from that prescribed by the established Liturgy. About the same period, likewise, he preached at Cambridge a funeral sermon on the death of his friend Bucer, Regius Professor of Divinity in that University. In 1552, he was presented by his youthful Sovereign to a prebend of Lincoln, and a few days afterward to the deanery of the same church.

Thus during the reigns of Henry VIII., and Edward VI., he lived honoured and wealthy; and happy in the esteem of some of his most illustrious contemporaries, Tremellius, Cromwell Earl of Essex, Archbishop Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Mr. Nicholas Bacon, Sir John Cheke, and Sir William Cecil.

Queen Mary however no sooner ascended the throne, than his inveterate enemies adducing against him the crime of his marriage, he was deprived of

all his preferments, and with his wife and two sons reduced to the necessity of living in the greatest obscurity, to escape falling into their hands. A part of this precarious leisure he employed in turning the Psalms into English verse, and drawing up a Defence of the Marriage of Priests.

At length, on the accession of Elizabeth, he was summoned from his retreat to new additions of dignity and affluence. The Queen, embracing the earliest opportunity of rewarding him for his services and his sufferings in the Protestant cause, nominated him to fill the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury, vacant by the death of Cardinal Pole. But Parker, far from being elated by this distinguished mark of royal approbation, requested through the Lord Keeper Bacon permission to decline the acceptance of it; alleging, among other excuses, his bodily infirmities, particularly a hurt received by a fall from his horse, when flying by night from his late persecutors. In consequence of a contusion received on his breast upon that occasion, 'preaching (he stated) had become extremely painful to him, and therefore in his own opinion he was disqualified for the most essential duties of the offered station.' But the Queen persisting in her choice, he was consecrated at Lambeth in 1559;\* and it was quickly perceived,

\* By Barlow, late Bishop of Bath and Wells (then elect of Chichester); Scory, late Bishop of Chichester (then elect of Hereford); Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter, and Hodgkin suffragan Bishop of Bedford. This circumstance, of which there is the clearest evidence, affords a complete refutation of the malignant calumny propagated some years afterward, 'that Parker was consecrated at the Nag's Head Inn, or Tavern, in Cheapside.'

Before his consecration, he had been appointed one of the



that this appointment was one of the many, which manifested her political genius.

Invested with full powers to establish the Reformation, the new Primate took especial care to recommend to her Majesty divines most distinguished for their piety and zeal, to fill the vacant sees and the other ecclesiastical benefices, of which the non-conforming Papists were soon afterward deprived.

Within a little period after his elevation, he consecrated those distinguished Prelates Grindal, Cox, Sandys, and Jewel to the sees of London, Ely, Worcester, and Salisbury respectively, with several others. He extended, likewise, his concern for the Protestant interest to the realm of Ireland, where religion had suffered the same revolutions as in England; the Reformation having been set on foot in that kingdom during the administration of Cromwell Earl of Essex, under Henry VIII.; by Brown Archbishop of Dublin. This Prelate, the first clergyman in Ireland who embraced the purified faith, by his exertions carried the bill for establishing Henry's supremacy through the Irish parliament, at a time when even the attempt was reputed dangerous. He, also, removed images and superstitious relics from the churches, and ordered the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments to be placed in their stead at the altars; after which, he detected some conspirators who had

Visitors of the University of Cambridge; and he had privately endeavoured to dissuade the Queen from the unequal exchange of the temporal revenues of bishoprics for impropriations, which she had been empowered by parliament upon a vacancy to effect. He had, also, advised her Majesty to remove crucifixes and lighted tapers out of churches, particularly the chapel royal; but without effect.

been sent from Rome, to excite disturbances in Ireland with a view of extirpating the Protestant heresy. The same activity he continued to exert during the reign of Edward; but in the first year of Mary, being a married man, he was deprived, and died not long afterward. Popery was, then, re-established in that kingdom: but when Archbishop Parker had settled the affairs of the English church, he despatched to Corwin, Archbishop of Dublin, instructions upon the subject, in which he was to be supported by the Earl of Sussex, the Queen's Lieutenant. Accordingly, the English Litany was sung at St. Patrick's before that nobleman and his court; which so exasperated the Popish party, that they had recourse to the old fraud of inventing a miracle. The curious particulars of this wretched effort we shall give in the words of Strype, who relates the story as communicated in a letter from Corwin to Parker:

“ There was in the cathedral an image of Christ in marble, standing with a reed in his hand and a crown of thorns on his head; and while service was saying before the Lord-lieutenant, the Archbishop, the rest of the Privy Council, and the corporation of Dublin (on the second Sunday of singing the English Litany), blood was seen to run through the crevices of the crown of thorns, trickling down the face of the image. The people did not perceive it at first; therefore, some who were in the fraud cried out to one another, and bade them ‘ see, how our Saviour's image sweat blood.’ Whereat several of the common people fell down with their heads in their hands, and prayed to the image. Vast numbers flocked to the sight; and one present, who indeed was the contriver, and formerly belonged to the priory of the cathedral,

told the people the cause, viz. that 'he could not choose but sweat blood, while heresy was then come into the church.' The confusion hereupon was so great, that the assembly broke up. But the people still fell upon their knees, thumping their breasts; and particularly one of the aldermen, the Mayor of the city, whose name was Sedgrave, and who had been at the English service, drew forth his beads, and prayed with the rest before the image. The Earl of Sussex, and those of the privy-council, hasted out of the choir, fearing some harm. But the Archbishop, being displeased, caused a form to be brought out of the choir, and bade the sexton to 'stand thereon, and to search and wash the image, and see if it would bleed afresh.' The man soon perceived the cheat, observing a sponge within the hollow of the image's head. This sponge one Leigh, the person above-mentioned, had soaked in a bowl of blood; and early on Sunday morning, watching his opportunity, placed the said sponge, so swoln and heavy with blood, over the head of the image within the crown: and so, by little and little, the blood soaked through upon the face. The sponge was presently brought down, and shown to these worshippers; who began to be ashamed, and some of them cursed father Leigh, who was soon discovered, and three or four others, who had been the contrivers of it." These were exposed and punished, and the Archbishop ordered the image to be removed. Ridiculous as this story must appear, it had a happy effect in England; where Parker caused it to be universally circulated, in order to cool the ardor of those, who still retained a veneration for images.\*

\* This veneration, however, seems to have adhered to Queen

Still, however, the great work of fixing the national religion upon a permanent footing, and rendering it as consonant as possible to the civil polity, suffered many impediments: not indeed from the Romish clergy, who had now lost all hopes, except the desperate one of cutting off the secular power; but from the disciples of Calvin and other sectaries, who though Protestants, objected not less than the Papists to some of the doctrines, and still more generally to the worship of the Church of England as by the Act of Uniformity recently established. Of these, some renounced infant-baptism, and were stiled ‘Anabaptists;’ others ran into extravagances upon the subjects of free-will and predestination, or administered the sacraments in a peculiar manner: these likewise branched out into many other distinctions, and Calvin supported their pretensions to a share in the ecclesiastical regimen by requesting Parker, in a courteous but artful letter, to persuade the Queen to ‘call a General Assembly of the Protestant clergy with the view of concerting a common form of worship and of church-government, not only for her own dominions, but also for the Reformed and evangelical churches abroad.’ But the English exiles, who had lived abroad during the preceding reign (some of them men of considerable piety and learning, as well ecclesiastics as laics) having already shown great diversity of opinions upon this delicate subject, the Privy Council, under a conviction that the Church of England in it’s infant state

Elizabeth for some time after her accession, though many writers impute it to policy. Corwin’s letter, seconded by several passages produced from Scripture by our Protestant divines, overcame her scruples, and they were soon afterward taken down throughout the kingdom, and demolished.

required support from authority, resolved to maintain episcopacy; and this resolution Parker was ordered to transmit to Calvin, accompanied with thanks for his offers.

Silenced, though not satisfied by this measure, the Reformer of Geneva, without making any farther application to the English court, secretly encouraged all the dissenters from the Established Church; who, upon their separation (after the publication of the Act of Uniformity) received the name of 'Puritans,' from their laying claim to a purer form of discipline and public worship.

In 1560, the Archbishop made a metropolitical visitation of the several dioceses, in many of which he found the churches miserably served. Of the Popish pastors several were now deprived, for non-conformity to the Queen's injunctions. Their number however, which did not much exceed two hundred, bore only a small proportion to the whole body of the clergy. But among the conformists so much ignorance prevailed, that "it was impossible (as Warner observes) with all the assistance of both the Universities to find ministers of moderate learning, character, and abilities, for the vacant parishes. Many churches were totally unsupplied; and not a few dignities and livings were bestowed upon mechanics, who being disregarded or despised by the laity, did the Reformation more harm than good."

Another prejudice, still retained by Elizabeth, was a strong dislike of the marriages of priests. Upon this, she would certainly have come to a rupture with the Archbishop, if Cecil had not at length prevailed upon Parker, who was as tenacious of his opinions as her Majesty, to agree to a royal injunction, that 'no head

or member of any college or cathedral should introduce a wife, or any other woman, permanently within its precincts, on pain of forfeiture of his ecclesiastical preferments.' It should seem, indeed, as if the Queen and the Primate had determined to plague each other on the subject of matrimony: for in an epistle to which he procured the signature of some other Prelates, he had exhorted her to enter into that holy state; and now upon his application to her to revoke this injunction, she treated the institution with marked contempt, telling him that 'she repented having exalted any married men to the bench:' upon which he addressed a sharp letter to the Secretary of State, stating, in return, that the 'Bishops were all dissatisfied with the Queen, and that for his part he was extremely sorry he had accepted the primacy at her hands.'

This mis-understanding was no sooner adjusted, than a quarrel of a different nature broke out among the established clergy, which could not fail to give cause of scandal to the well-disposed; since even the Bishops were divided in opinion upon the occasion, and formed themselves into distinct parties. The Queen, in consequence of a clause in the Act of Uniformity, which empowered her to add whatever rites and ceremonies she thought proper to the national church, had enjoined certain ecclesiastical habits to be worn by the different orders of the clergy. To these regulations some implicitly conformed; while others rejected them in part, and not a few wholly, as the relics of Popish superstition. Square caps, copes, and surplices in particular, were strongly objected to; and the effect in thinning the attendance upon divine service, where the pastor and

his flock happened to entertain different opinions, upon the subject, was strikingly injurious. The majority of the laity, indeed, were against these habits, and treated the clergy who wore them as hypocrites, who had acceded merely from worldly motives to the new faith. This spirit in the people increased with their abhorrence of popery; and Parker, whose advice the Queen chiefly followed, was censured as the principal author of the disturbances. But neither he, nor any of the Prelates of his party, made any concession to quiet the minds of the dissatisfied. On the contrary, when the two Archbishops were commanded to restore the peace of the church, they adopted such measures only as were calculated to enforce obedience from the clergy; leaving the laity totally out of the question, unless they thought proper to conform to the directions now drawn up for 'Due Order in preaching and administering the Sacraments, and for the Apparell of Persons Ecclesiastical.' \*

Upon this a violent schism ensued, and such numbers resigned their benefices, that the two Universities were unable to furnish men of competent abilities to supply the vacancies. The Bishops were, therefore, obliged to procure degrees for many illiterate persons, whom they found ready to comply with any

\* Among other things, the principal minister was to wear a cope, when he administered the sacrament: at prayers, they were all to wear surplices: in the parish-churches, and in cathedrals, they were to preach in hoods: the Communion-Table was to be placed in the east; the Ten Commandments were to be set upon the walls above them; and no person was permitted to receive the sacrament in any other posture than that of kneeling. Finally, no person was to be ordained, who had not taken a degree at Oxford, or at Cambridge.

forms or ceremonies, entitling them to the possession of valuable livings.

But among the non-conforming clergy were many persons of eminent reputation for piety, learning, and moral character, for whom the people in general retained the highest veneration; and who beside possessing considerable interest at court, were countenanced by the moderate Prelates, particularly Jewel Bishop of Salisbury, and Pilkington Bishop of Durham. These, as they had suffered exile for their profession of the Protestant faith, could not be suspected of want of zeal: and therefore they wrote with great freedom to the Earl of Leicester, the reigning court-favourite, representing that ‘the Reformed countries abroad had with the Pope cast off popish apparel: that in things, indifferent in themselves, compulsion should never be resorted to; and that from the numbers, who had resolved to resign their livings rather than comply, it would be impossible to substitute proper teachers in their stead.’ Leicester, already inclined to favour the cause of the non-conformists, gained over several other courtiers; and by their representations the Queen was induced to withdraw the royal sanction, and to leave the Ordinances to the ecclesiastical court, which had sufficient authority over the inferior clergy, by the canon-law, to enforce obedience. Thus the odium of the persecution was taken off from the crown, and thrown upon the Archbishops and their party.

Parker, exasperated at this measure, openly declared, that ‘the Queen had ordered him to draw up the Injunctions and the Ordinances, and he resolved to abide by them.’ He then published them under the title of ‘Advertisements;’ and, as a proof that he



was determined to enforce them, having cited Sampson Dean of Christ Church, and Humphreys President of Magdalen College, Oxford, to appear before himself and the other ecclesiastical Commissioners, he menaced them with deprivation in case of refusing to conform. The short interval of time allowed for their answer they employed in drawing up an elaborate letter to the Commissioners in defence of their conduct, and in support of religious liberty. With great coolness and judgement they expressed their concern, that 'such a dissension should have arisen for so trifling a subject, *propter lanam et linum* (meaning 'the square cap and the surplice,') and solicited the same indulgence for their opinions, which they were ready to grant to others. This law, concerning the restoring of the ceremonies of the Romish church (they said) appeared to them to be joined with the hazard of slavery, necessity, and superstition: "But because this (they added) does not seem to you, you are not to be condemned by us; because this does seem so to us, we are not to be vexed by you." These and other arguments, however, had no weight with the Commissioners. The Primate was determined to make an example of these two divines, who were universally esteemed for their profound learning, their zeal in the Protestant cause, and their sufferings upon that account in the preceding reign. Accordingly, on their second appearance, having again refused their compliance, they were taken into custody, and confined in his palace at Lambeth, with a view of terrifying the inferior clergy. But this proceeding not having the desired effect, they were deprived, and set at liberty.

Soon afterward, the Archbishop ordered the whole

body of the London clergy to appear before himself and other ecclesiastical Commissioners at Lambeth, for the purpose of subscribing their conformity to the Injunctions and Ordinances; and he requested Secretary Cecil and some of the Privy Council to be present upon the occasion: but he could not obtain their consent. He found means, however, to procure a Royal Proclamation, requiring uniformity in the habits of the clergy under pain of being silenced and deprived.

When the beneficiaries cited appeared in court, they were admonished to follow the pious example of one Thomas Cole; who having yielded to the force of argument, and wearing the dress required by the Injunctions, was placed in a conspicuous manner near the commissioners. The Archbishop's Chancellor then addressed them in these words: \*

"My masters, and ye ministers of London! the Council's pleasure is, that strictly ye keep the unity of apparel, like to this man (pointing to Mr. Cole), that is, wear a square cap and a scholar's gown priest-like, a tippet, and in the church a linen surplice, and inviolably observe the rubric of the Book of Common Prayer, and the Queen's Majesty's Injunctions, and the Book of Convocation (the Thirty-nine Articles) ye that will subscribe, write *Volo*. Those, that will not subscribe, write *Nolo*. Be brief, make no words." And when some of the clergy offered to speak, he interrupted them, crying, "Peace, peace:—apparitor, call over the churches; and ye, masters, answer presently *sub pena contemptus*, and set your names."

\* As preserved by Strype, in his 'Life of Grindal, Bishop of London.'

Of ninety-eight present, sixty-one subscribed; and when the rest presented a paper to the Archbishop, assigning their reasons for refusing, his Grace informed them, that it was no part of the duty of the Commissioners to debate; adding, 'he did not doubt, but when they had felt the smart of want and poverty, they would comply; for the wood as yet was but green.'

The Primate did not stop here. Finding that numerous books were published by the deprived clergy, who with the dissenting laity had now been classed under the denomination of 'Puritans,' in favour of their non-conformity, he complained to the Privy Council that 'the Queen was disobeyed, and the schism in the church increased by the circulation of heterodox and seditious libels.' This application produced an Order in 1566 from the Star-Chamber, prohibiting 'the publication of all works in which any thing was advanced against the Injunctions; the Ordinances, or the established mode of worship.' The wardens of the Stationers' Company, likewise, were empowered to search the booksellers' shops and the printing-houses, and to bring the offenders before the ecclesiastical Commissioners. And thus was the finishing hand put to a total separation of the conscientious Puritans from the national church. "A most unhappy event (observes Mr. Strype) of this controversy, whereby people of the same country, of the same religion, and of the same judgement in doctrine, parted communions; one part being obliged to go apart into secret houses and chambers to serve God by themselves, which begat strangeness between neighbours, Christians, and protestants:"—"And not only strangeness (adds Neale), but unspeakable mis-

chiefs to the nation in this and the following reign. The breach might easily have been made up at first; but it widened by degrees: the passions of the contending parties increased; till the fire, which for some years was burning underground, broke out into a civil war, and with unspeakable fury destroyed the constitution both in church and state."

In 1567 the Archbishop founded three exhibitions, and in 1569 seven additional ones, with two fellowships in Bene't College, Cambridge.\* In the intermediate year, a new edition of the English Bible made its appearance, chiefly under his inspection, and with a Preface from his pen †.

The Primate's zeal however, in 1571, carried him beyond the limits of his duty; for he sought to influence the House of Commons to submit all matters concerning religion to the Bishops. This arbitrary measure, in which the Queen very impolitically took a part, was strenuously opposed by two distinguished men of those days, Mr. Strickland and Mr. Wentworth. But, after very warm debates, the Commons were obliged to admit that 'to her Majesty, as Supreme Head of the church, the order-

\* At a subsequent period, also, he gave handsome benefactions to several colleges in that University, founded two scholarships for the study of law and physic respectively, presented many volumes of books (including twenty-five valuable MSS.) to the public library, and bestowed farther kindnesses upon his own society of Bene't.

† This (commonly called 'The Bishops' Bible,' on account of its having been principally revised by Bishops from the translation, which Cranmer had published) remained in general use, till the present authorised version took place under the sanction of James I. in 1611. As a version, Selden in his 'Table-Talk' pronounces it "the nearest in sense to the original; and the best in the world."

ing of all ecclesiastical affairs pertained ;' and the latter, for his freedom of speech, was committed to the Tower. Elizabeth then delegated the exercise of this prerogative to Parker and the Prelates of his party, who not content with requiring subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, exceeded the penalties prescribed by the law for a refusal. And to crown the whole, the Archbishop made a personal visitation in the Isle of Wight, at that time chiefly inhabited by foreign Protestants of different persuasions, who had fled thither from Romish persecution. Through the policy of government these strangers had, hitherto, enjoyed religious toleration : but Parker having received information, that ' not a few of the recent non-conformists had joined their society,' resolved to enforce in the island the Act of Uniformity ; and meeting with almost a general refusal, deprived the clergy, and ordered the churches to be shut up. By this intemperate zeal, however, the Queen was highly displeased. She justly considered, that as the Isle of Wight was visited by mariners of different nations, her reputation would speedily suffer in foreign countries ; and the Papists would be furnished with an opportunity of retorting the charge of persecution upon the English church. About the same time, likewise, the Bishop of Winchester remonstrated, that ' the Archbishop in a visitation of his diocese had infringed upon his privileges, and established an inquisitorial power over his clergy.' Upon these complaints the Council declared their disapprobation of Parker's conduct, and advised her Majesty to order the churches to be re-opened, and the ministers to be restored in the Isle of Wight. This was accordingly done, and the Primate himself upon coming to court received

from the Queen a public reprimand. Such treatment was ill brooked by one, who professed to exert himself for the support of her royal prerogative. He, therefore, addressed an acrimonious letter to Cecil, Lord Burghley, (now Lord-treasurer) expressing his discontent at the opposition given to his measures, and declaring 'both the church and the state to be in danger of dissolution from it.' He did not long survive his letter; for being severely afflicted with the stone, and it's frequent attendant the strangury, he was taken off by a violent fit of the latter in May, 1575.

He was buried with great magnificence, in his own private chapel at Lambeth, under a tomb erected by himself: but such was the mean malignity of later times in exercising posthumous vengeance upon unconscious dust and ashes, that in 1648 Colonel Scot, who had purchased that palace as a mansion, scandalously directed his remains to be thrown into an outhouse near a hole where poultry were kept, disposing of his leaden coffin at the same time to a plumber! Some time after the Restoration, however, they were decently re-interred in the place where the monument had stood, which was again erected to his memory.

This Prelate, with all his faults,\* must be considered as a principal ornament of the reign in which he

\* Has not Mr. Dibdin rather exceeded in the article of praise, when he pronounces him "pious, diffident, frank, charitable, learned, and munificent, the great episcopal star of his age, which shone with undiminished lustre to the last moment of it's appearance? In that warm and irritable period (he adds) when the Protestant religion was assailed in proportion to it's excellence, and when writers mistook abuse for argument, it is delightful to think upon the mild and temperate course, which this discreet metropolitan pursued." (*Biblioman.*)

flourished, by fixing the Protestant religion on such a permanent footing, as left not the least probability of the re-establishment of Popery, to which the people from their natural inconstancy had so readily returned after the death of Edward VI. Fuller quaintly calls him, "a 'Parker' indeed; careful to keep the fences, and shut the gates of discipline, against all such night-stealers as would invade the same; and this (he adds) was his chief excellence." He was naturally, it must be admitted, of a warm temper: but, till after his exaltation, he exhibited no instances of haughtiness or ill-nature. He was, to the last, hospitable and bountiful, both to individuals and to public bodies. In the regulation of his family he displayed great judgement; assigning to each of his domestics some specific and constant employment, and employing such as were not occupied in the management of his revenues or of his household, in binding books, or in engraving, painting, transcribing manuscripts, drawing, or illuminating.

His reputation, as an author and an antiquarian, still conciliates respect to his name in the learned world. A diligent inquirer into Saxon and British antiquities, he spared neither labour nor expense to collect and preserve the writings of the most ancient authors of our own country, and according to Strype, one of his agents alone procured for him not fewer than 6,700 volumes in four years.\*

\* Many of them belonged to abbeys, colleges, and cathedral-churches before the Reformation. They related chiefly to the History of England, and were given by him to the library of Bene't College, Cambridge, under conditions subjecting them in case of neglect to be forfeited successively to Caius College and Trinity Hall. It should, farther, be remembered to his ho-

As an author, he published editions of four of our ancient English historians; Matthew of Westminster, Matthew Paris, Asser's Life of Alfred, and Walsingham's History from Edward I. to Henry V. with his account of Normandy. He translated likewise, in 1566, 'A Testimony of Antiquity, showing the ancient Faith of the Church of England touching the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of the Lord, here publicly preached and also received in the Saxon's time, about 1700 years ago;' from a Sermon, which had previously been translated out of Latin into Saxon (by Ælfric, Abbot of St. Alban's, about A. D. 996.) and appointed to be delivered to the people at Easter, before they should receive the communion.\* To these we may add his work *De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ, &c.* or the 'Lives of his predecessors the Archbishops of Canterbury,' in which he received the assistance of Joceline, one of his chaplains.†

nour, that he was the founder of the English society of Antiquaries.

\* This piece was accompanied by two 'Letters' of Ælfric, affording additional proof that the doctrine of 'the real presence' was not then admitted by the church.

† The best edition of this work was published by Dr. Samuel Drake, Lond. in 1729. Most of the copies of the first edition (1572) want the account of Parker's own Life, he having caused it to be suppressed while he lived; upon which account, Strype has inserted it in the Appendix to his Life of that Prelate.



**SIR THOMAS GRESHAM,**  
**MERCHANT AND CITIZEN OF LONDON.\***

[1519—1579.]

**T**HE revolutions in the commercial affairs of Europe characterise the age of Elizabeth almost as strikingly as those of religion, with which they were at this time intimately connected; and, perhaps, there is not to be found in the annals of any other nation a combination of events so effectively concurring, at almost the same instant, to fix the renown of the Sovereign, and to insure the prosperity of the state.

“ From the first beginning of Elizabeth’s reign, the English applied themselves to manufactures: the Flemings being persecuted by Philip II. King of Spain (who permitted his governor of the Low Countries, now the Austrian Netherlands, to exercise every act of cruelty for the extirpation of heresy) removed to London, bringing with them an increase of inhabitants, industry, and riches. This capital, which enjoyed the blessings of peace under Elizabeth, cul-

\* **AUTHORITIES.** Camden’s *Britannia*, Edward VI.’s *MS. Journal* (Cotton Library), Rymer’s *Fœdera*, and Ward’s *Life of Gresham*.

tivated likewise the liberal arts, the badges and the consequences of plenty. London was enlarged, civilised, and embellished; and, in a short time, one half of the little island of Great Britain was able to counterbalance the whole power of Spain. The English now appeared the second nation in the world in industry, as in liberty they were the first; and a private merchant in London was rich enough to build the Royal Exchange, and to found and endow a college for the education of the children of his fellow-citizens."\*

Thomas Gresham was the descendent of an ancient family, which (according to Camden) took its name from a town so called in Norfolk, and had already produced several eminent men in the earlier periods of British history. Nor was Sir Richard Gresham, the father of this gentleman, undistinguished. From his success in the business of a mercer, he had been enabled to purchase considerable estates, became sheriff of London in 1531, and received the honour of knighthood from Henry VIII., who made him his principal agent for the negociation of his fiscal concerns at Antwerp, during his wars with France. He, subsequently, discharged the office of Lord-Mayor. But what rendered him still more memorable as a citizen, was his having obtained leave for private merchants to become bankers, and to negotiate bills of exchange without a special licence. This privilege being first exercised by merchants residing in Lombard-street, it was there that he proposed to build an Exchange: but it was reserved for

\* Voltaire's 'Universal History.'

his son Thomas to realise the project. He purchased, however, the chapel of St. Thomas of Acres, now Mercer's Chapel, for that Company.\*

Sir Richard left two sons, of whom John, the eldest (an eminent mercer in the reign of Edward VI.) accompanied the Protector Somerset in his expedition to Scotland, and was knighted by him upon the field after his victory at Musselburgh in 1547. The younger, the subject of this memoir, was born at London in 1519, and was bound apprentice to a mercer when he was extremely young: but he certainly did not long continue with him, as we find him subsequently a student at Caius College under its celebrated founder Dr. Caius, who in commendation of his proficiency stiled him *Doctissimus Mercator*, 'the very learned merchant.'—The profits of trade however were at that time so great, and such large estates had been acquired by it in his own family, that he also engaged in it, and was made free of the Mercer's Company in 1548. He married about this time, it is supposed, the daughter of William Fernley of Suffolk, relict of William Reade, Esq. of Middlesex.

Sir William Dansell had succeeded Sir Richard Gresham, as the King's agent at Antwerp; but by his bad management, instead of supplying his Majesty with money, he involved him so deeply in debt,

\* At this period, and long afterward, no person could belong to any Company, except that of the trade which he followed. Hence ensued an attachment and intimacy among the brethren, and valuable donations and legacies were bequeathed to the several guilds from their respective members: whereas at present one of the principal uses of such fraternities is destroyed, by the abolition of this limitation.

that the merchants of that city refused to make any farther advances. This greatly embarrassing the royal affairs at home, a letter of recall was despatched to Dansell, which he refused to obey. Mr. Gresham was now summoned by the Council, and requested to advise by what means his Majesty could best be enabled to discharge the debt (amounting to 260,000*l.*) or put it in such a train of liquidation, that his loans might proceed as usual. His suggestions upon this point must have been highly satisfactory; as without any solicitation on his part he was appointed agent, and removed with his family to Antwerp in 1551. Here, he quickly found himself involved in very uneasy circumstances; but his fertile genius enabled him to extricate himself with honour. The money, which had been borrowed by his predecessor for the King's use, not having been repaid at the stipulated times, he was under the necessity of soliciting an additional term of prolongation: but to this the lenders would only agree, on condition that his Majesty should purchase jewels, or other rich commodities, to a considerable amount.\*

Mr. Gresham did not judge it compatible, either with his master's honour, or his own credit as his agent, to comply with these venal proposals; he there-

\* It deserves the reader's notice, that the principal commerce of Antwerp at this early period consisted in the importation of diamonds, pearls, and other precious stones, and of wool; together with the negotiation of loans of money, and exchanges. The persecution of the Duke of Alva drove the manufacturers, and the merchants trafficking in bulky commodities (as most liable to seizure and confiscation) from this ancient mart; but there still remained many of the jewel-merchants and the money-agents, whose descendents preserved that city from a total decline.

fore peremptorily rejected them, and transmitted a plan to England for discharging the debts in question at Antwerp in two years. His proposal was, that the Council should remit with the utmost privacy about 1300*l.* a-week, of which he would make such a discretionary use in the market, as should prevent the artificial fall of the exchange. The Council approving his design, he contrived to take up 200*l.* daily on his own credit, upon bills of exchange drawn at double usance on England; by which measure he gained time, and negotiated 72,000*l.* in one year. He farther proposed, that his Majesty should take the commerce of the lead-mines into his own hands, and forbid the exportation of that metal, except on the sovereign's account, for five years. This measure had the desired effect; and the price of lead rose considerably in the Flemish markets. By these two mercantile stratagems he turned the balance in favour of England, and the royal debts were punctually discharged within the term proposed. The credit likewise of the English crown, which was previously questioned by the Flemish merchants, rose to such a height, that Mr. Gresham could borrow whatever sums he thought proper on equitable terms.

The demise of Edward retarded, for a time, the honours earned by these eminent exertions. Upon the accession of Queen Mary, he was recalled: but he had been rendered independent by the munificence of his grateful employer, who beside lands to the yearly value of 300*l.*, about three weeks before he died settled a pension of 100*l.* upon him and his heirs for ever; making use of these words, with other honourable expressions in the patent, "You shall know, that you have served a king."

His friends, however, importuned him to present a memorial to her Majesty, stating 'the signal services rendered by his father and himself to the crown, often at the risk of their lives and fortunes, and particularly a heavy loss sustained by himself on his return to England.'\* This memorial, it appears, procured him the restoration of his former employ, and other commissions from the Queen for the management of her affairs in the Low Countries.†

When Elizabeth succeeded to the crown, he was one of the first taken into favour. Soon after her accession, she employed him to furnish the royal arsenals with arms, and the year following conferred upon him the honour of knighthood, and appointed him her agent in foreign parts. Being now in the highest esteem with his fellow-citizens, and in great credit at court, he resolved to fix his residence in the city, and to live there in a manner suitable to his rank and fortune. For this purpose he built a large and sumptuous house on the west side of Bishopsgate Street.

The merchants of London still continuing to meet in Lombard Street in the open air, exposed to the inclemencies of the weather, Sir Thomas resolved to revive his father's plan of erecting for them, on the plan of the Bourse at Antwerp, a commodious Exchange. This he generously offered to do at his own expense, if the corporation would assign over to him a proper spot of ground, sufficiently spacious for the purpose. The city most gratefully accepted his

\* The vessel, in which his household furniture, plate, and wearing apparel were embarked, was lost with it's whole cargo, for which he had hitherto not received any indemnification.

† See Rymer's *Fœdera*, Vol. XV.

proposal; in consequence of which they purchased eighty houses in Cornhill, situated in the three alleys, then called Swan's, New, and St. Christopher's Alleys, for which they paid to the several owners the sum of 3,532*l.* The ground-plot was laid out immediately; and on the seventh of June, 1567, the founder having placed the first stone of the edifice, the workmen proceeded with such despatch, that in November the roof was covered in, and the timber-work, which had been framed and fitted for putting together at Battisford near Ipswich, was finished soon afterward.\*

The edifice was completed, and the shops opened, in 1569; and in January, 1570, the Queen attended by her nobility came from Somerset House to Sir Thomas' residence in Bishopsgate Street to dinner, on her return through Cornhill entered the new building, and having viewed every part thereof,

\* The plan of this building was an oblong square, with piazzas on the north and south sides, supported by ten pillars of marble on each side, while seven sustained those on the east and west ends: under these piazzas, shops to the number of a hundred and twenty were neatly fitted up, which were let upon an average at 4*l.* 10*s.* *per ann.* Other shops were prepared at first in the vaults under ground: but the darkness and the damp rendered them so unwholesome and inconvenient, that they were quickly removed, and the vaults let for more suitable uses. Upon a pinnacle at each corner of the roof was placed a grasshopper, the crest of the Gresham family; and a very large grasshopper, serving likewise as a vane, graced the turret. This building perished in the fire of 1666, and the present noble structure was erected at the joint expense of the city and of the Mercers' Company. It cost 80,000*l.*, and was finished in the year 1670. The grasshopper, and the founder's statue, still exist in the modern building.

caused it to be proclaimed by a trumpet and a herald the 'Royal Exchange.' \*

About this time the Duke of Alva, by order of Philip II. King of Spain, prohibited all commerce between Flanders and England; upon which, the English merchants and factors retired from Antwerp to Hamburgh. Cecil, then Secretary of State, apprehensive that they would not have money sufficient to carry on their trade at their new settlement as their credit was not yet established, and consequently that the import duties at home, especially on woollen cloths (the Queen's chief resource for discharging her foreign debts) would fall short, communicated his sentiments to Sir Thomas Gresham; who quickly dispelled his apprehensions by assuring him, that 'if her Majesty could contrive to make the London merchants the first payment, being one-half of her debt to them, they would thereby be enabled to forward such remittances to Hamburgh, as would firmly establish the credit of their correspondents in that city; and before the second payment enable them to ship from that port for England commodities to an amount,

\* A ridiculous tradition is still preserved, that in honour of his royal visitor, and as a proof of his opulence, Sir Thomas ordered a pearl of immense value to be reduced to powder, and thrown into a glass of wine, which he drank to the Queen's health. This seems to have originated from two or three lines of an historical play, composed to compliment Elizabeth upon two great events in her reign; the building of the Royal Exchange, and the destruction of the Spanish Armada:—

“ Here fifteen hundred pound at one clap goes.  
Instead of sugar, Gresham drinks this pearl  
Unto his Queen and mistress: pledge it, lords.”



which with the exports then ready to be sent thither, would produce duties fully competent to remove every doubt of the Queen's solvency.' He farther added, that 'from the demand for English commodities on the continent, the Hamburgh settlers would have both money and credit sufficient to obtain any quantity of foreign articles for England, after they had received the merchandise then shipping at London;' but in the mean time, lest these should be retarded by any unforeseen accident, he advised Cecil to remit money thither, to enable them to fulfil their contracts for goods sent to England upon their first establishment. This raised the credit of the Queen and the English merchants so high, that the Duke of Alva, who in the ruin of the Flemish commerce foresaw his own, 'quaked for fear.'

Elizabeth next adopted the prudent measure of procuring money from her own subjects for the public service: but this laudable project received a considerable check from the corporation of Merchant-Adventurers, who at a General Court rejected her demand of a loan. The sum, however (only 16,000*l.*) was obtained, through Gresham's interest in the city, from some of the aldermen and other merchants, at six *per cent.* for six months; and, on the expiration of that term, a prolongation was readily agreed to.

To remedy the scarcity of silver-coin, which obstructed inland trade, Gresham, knowing that one Reggio (an Italian merchant) had lodged thirty thousand Flemish ducatoons in the Tower for security, and that he had likewise a considerable quantity of the same pieces in the hands of private friends in London, advised the Queen to make a purchase of

them, and to coin them into English shillings and sixpences, by which she would at once gain three or four thousand pounds, and retain all this fine silver in her realm.\* To effect this, Elizabeth borrowed the amount from the London merchants for two years, at moderate interest. At the same time, Sir Thomas sent five sacks of new Spanish ryals, his own property, to the Mint; and this example encouraging others, when the new coinage was issued, silver currency became so plentiful, that the greatest part of the royal debts in Flanders were paid with it: the residue being soon afterward remitted in bills of exchange on Hamburgh, to her Majesty's honour, and the farther advancement of the commercial credit of the realm.

These wise regulations, of course, abolished the office of queen's agent for money-matters in foreign parts: but Elizabeth, to show her high regard for Sir Thomas Gresham, and that he might not lose the dignity of a public character in the city, put him into a commission with the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and some Lords of the Council, as Assistants to the Lord Mayor in the government of the city, during her summer-progresses through the kingdom. This honour he held, as occasion required, from 1572 to 1578.

He had now acquired very considerable landed property in some of the distant counties; but his activity of mind would not permit him to be absent long together from the bustle of the mercantile world. He loved to visit his favourite Exchange, and

\* Many of these shillings and sixpences are still to be met with, in the cabinets of the curious, in high preservation.

to associate with merchants: upon which account, instead of retiring to any of his new purchases, he built a magnificent seat at Osterley Park, near Brentford in Middlesex.\* Here he indulged himself with short intervals of relaxation, but his mind was always so full of plans for the promotion of useful industry, that even here he made business part of his amusement: for within his park he erected paper, oil, and corn-mills, thus liberally finding constant employment for various descriptions of workmen, who were at all times devoted to his service.†

The greatest part of his very ample fortune he now resolved to devote to the benefit of his fellow-citizens, and their children's children, having no legitimate heir to inherit it after his decease.‡ He had, indeed, a natural daughter by a Flemish woman, while he resided at Bruges in Flanders: but having given her in marriage to Nathaniel Bacon, the second son of the Lord Keeper, with a portion suitable to his own circumstances and the rank of her husband, he deemed himself free from all farther family-claims.

\* A story concerning this place is related by Fuller, in his *Worthies of Middlesex*, as a pleasant instance of the great despatch of Gresham in whatever he was determined to effect. "Queen Elizabeth having been once very magnificently entertained and lodged at Osterley Park, she found fault with the court before it, as being too large, and said 'it would appear better, if divided by a wall in the middle:' he took the hint, and sent for workmen from London, who in the night built up the wall with such privacy and expedition, that the next morning the Queen, to her great surprise, found the court divided in the manner she had proposed the day before."

† He introduced, also, into the kingdom the manufactures of several small wares, pins, knives, hats, ribands, &c.

‡ His only son, Richard, he had lost young in 1564.

Accordingly, he announced his design of having his 'mansion-house' (as it was then called) converted into a college, for the profession of the seven liberal sciences, and endowing it with the revenues of the Royal Exchange, after his own and his lady's decease. Upon this, the University of Cambridge ordered their public orator, Mr. Richard Bridgewater, to remind him of a promise which he had formerly made to give them 500*l.*, either toward building a new college, or repairing an old one for the same purposes. This letter was speedily followed by a second, in which they stated the information they had received, that 'he had positively declared to Lady Burghley his intention of founding a college; and as there were but three convenient situations for such a foundation (London, Oxford, and Cambridge) they hoped a grateful regard for the place of his education would determine him to give them the preference.' But these letters, from various considerations, failed of the desired effect. London, at that time, had no similar institution; and the want of liberal education made the principal merchants obstinately tenacious of every idle or injurious prejudice, which they had once imbibed. This Sir Thomas had experienced, in the opposition which they had given to his rational plan of establishing an union of interests between them and the government, by supplying from domestic sources the public loans. Another motive, undoubtedly, was the honest ambition, which every good citizen ought to cherish, of transmitting his memory to the descendents of his fellow-citizens for their grateful veneration.

Persisting therefore in the resolution of fixing the college in his dwelling-house, he executed a deed of

settlement, dated May 20, 1575, disposing of his several manors, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, with such limitations and restrictions (particularly as to the Royal Exchange, and his mansion in Bishopsgate Street) as might best secure and substantiate his views. This deed was succeeded by two wills: the first bequeathing to his wife, his sole executrix, all his personal estate, consisting of cash, plate, jewels, chains of gold, &c. &c.; and the second bestowing one moiety of the Royal Exchange upon the Mayor and Commonalty of the city of London, and the other upon the Mercers' Company, for the salaries of seven Professors (one for each of the liberal sciences) to be chosen by them, 'being meet and sufficiently learned,' to read public lectures in divinity, law, physic, astronomy, geometry, music, and rhetoric, for which they were to receive a salary of 50*l. per ann.*, and to be provided with apartments for their residence in his said mansion-house.\* These dispositions, with some

\* But no money from those, who attended their prelections. This institution was intended, said Dr. Johnson, 'as a place of instruction for London: able Professors were to read lectures gratis; they contrived to have no scholars. Whereas, if they had been allowed to receive but sixpence a lecture from each scholar, they would have been emulous to have had many scholars. Every body will agree, that it should be the interest of those who teach, to have scholars: and this is the case of the English Universities. That they are too rich (as Adam Smith, in his 'Wealth of Nations,' invidiously observes) is, certainly, not true: for they have nothing good enough to keep a man of eminent learning with them for his life.' (Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, III. 13.)

\* From Ward's 'History of the Gresham Professors' it appears, that many eminent men have been of the number; though the office is undoubtedly, at present, regarded chiefly as a sinecure. The Professors receive a double salary, as a compensation for the

other bequests, were calculated upon the produce of the rents of the Royal Exchange, and the fines for alienations, which exceeded at the time the annual payments appointed by the will; so that the two corporations had more than sufficient investments for their respective trusts: but as those investments were only for a term of fifty years,\* the estates being directed by a special clause to revert to the heirs at law, unless a licence were procured from the crown within that period to legalise the permanent alienation, they obtained a patent from James I. in 1614, to hold the bequeathed estates for ever for the uses declared in the will.

His worldly concerns thus adjusted in an honourable and satisfactory manner, he probably spent the four remaining years of his life in retirement: all the account, which we have of him after the year 1575, being that on the twenty-ninth of November, 1579, he expired in an apoplectic fit.†

loss of their apartments, the building having been converted into the General Excise Office; and they deliver their lectures—to the walls of the Royal Exchange.

\* This limitation was made on account of the statutes of Mortmain, prohibiting the permanent alienation of lands or tenements to any corporation without license first obtained from the crown.

† Hollingshed says, “that coming from the Royal Exchange to his house in Bishopsgate Street, he suddenly fell down in the kitchen, and being taken up was found speechless, and presently died.”

By his death many large estates in several counties, amounting in annual value to 2,388*l*. (a great income in those days) devolved to his lady for her life; and, as she survived him many years, this accounts for the late date of the patent above-mentioned. His remains were deposited at the north-east corner of St. Helen's, his parish-church, in a vault which he had previ

To the above account we have only to add, from Ward's summary of his character, the following particulars. He was well acquainted both with the ancient and many modern languages; and that he was a liberal patron to learned men, as well natives as foreigners, may be inferred from various dedications, particularly those of John Fox the celebrated martyrologist, Hugh Goughe the historian of the Ottoman Turks, &c. He so constantly transacted Queen Elizabeth's affairs, that he was usually called 'The Royal Merchant.' And he had the singular honour, upon several occasions, to be appointed to receive foreign princes on their first arrival in England, and to entertain them at his house till they were presented at court. In fine, having no son to continue his name, he took the most effectual method to secure it's being preserved with affectionate regard, as long as the city of London shall retain it's corporate existence.

ously provided for himself and his family. The funeral charges amounted to 800*l*.

## GEORGE BUCHANAN.\*

[1506—1582.]

**T**HIS celebrated historian and poet, one of the greatest masters of modern Latinity, was a native of Scotland. Of his family we have little account, except that, by the failure of his grandfather in trade, his children were reduced to extreme distress. He was born at Killairn in Dumbartonshire, in 1506; and his father dying while he was very young, the care of his education devolved upon his remaining parent, who with five sons and three daughters was left almost unprovided for. By the kind assistance of her brother Mr. James Heriot, however, she was enabled to place George at school; where his inclination for learning recommending him to the farther patronage of his uncle, he was sent by him to Paris, in 1518, to complete his education. But the death of his kind benefactor, in 1520, depriving him of the means of pursuing his studies, he was obliged to revisit Scotland. If this event, in-

\* **AUTHORITIES.** *Georgii Buchanani Vita, ab ipso scripta biennio ante mortem, et Poematibus præfixa*, Melvil's *Memoirs*, Mackenzie's *Lives and Characters of Scotch Writers*, Lettice's *Memoir*, and Robertson's *History of Scotland*.



deed, had not taken place, his bad state of health alone would have compelled him to return.

About the year 1523, being anxious to acquire some knowledge of military affairs, he made a campaign as a common soldier with the French auxiliaries, who under the command of John Duke of Albany came over to Scotland, to assist in carrying on the war against Henry VIII. But the fatigues, which he underwent, were too much for his delicate constitution; and he was confined to his bed during the ensuing winter.

In the spring however, being somewhat re-established in health, he repaired to the University of St. Andrew's to learn logic, under the celebrated Mr. John Mair or Major\* (the tutor, likewise, of Knox the

\* 'John Mair, better known by his Latin name 'Major,' was Professor of Philosophy and Theology at St. Andrew's, when Knox attended the University. The minds of young men, and their future train of thinking, often receive an important direction from the master under whom they are educated, especially if his reputation be high. Major was, at that time, deemed an oracle in the sciences which he taught, and was the preceptor of Knox, and of the celebrated scholar Buchanan. These two brother-pupils always name each other with high respect. "That notable man, Mr. George Buchanan (says Knox, in his 'History') remains alive to this day, in the year of God 1566 years; to the glory of God, to the great honour of this nation, and to the comfort of them that delight in letters and virtue. That singular work of David's Psalms in Latin metre and poesy, beside many other, can witness the rare graces of God given to that man."

' Their tutor had received the greater part of his education in France, and acted for some time as a Professor for the University of Paris. In that situation, he acquired a more liberal habit of thinking and expressing himself on certain subjects, than was yet to be met with in his native country, and in other parts of Europe. He had imbibed the sentiments concerning ecclesiasti-

Reformer) with whom he a second time visited Paris. Here he embraced the tenets of Luther,

cal polity maintained by John Gerson and Peter D'Ailly, who so ably defended the decrees of the Council of Constance, and the liberties of the Gallican church, against the advocates for the uncontrollable authority of the Sovereign Pontiff. He taught that a General Council was superior to the Pope, and might judge, rebuke, restrain, and even depose him from his dignity; denied the temporal supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, and his right to inaugurate or dethrone princes; maintained that ecclesiastical censures, and even papal excommunications, had no force, if pronounced on irrelevant or invalid grounds; held that tithes were not of divine right, but merely of human appointment; censured the avarice, ambition, and secular pomp of the court of Rome, and of the episcopal order; was no warm friend of the regular clergy; and advised the reduction of monasteries, and holidays.

His opinions respecting civil government were analogous to those, which he held as to ecclesiastical polity. He taught, that the authority of kings and princes was originally derived from the people; that the former are not superior to the latter collectively considered; that if rulers become tyrannical, or employ their power for the destruction of their subjects, they may lawfully be controlled by them, and proving incorrigible may be deposed by the community as the superior power; and that tyrants may be judicially proceeded against, even to capital punishment.

The affinity between these, and the political principles afterward avowed by Knox, and defended by the classic pen of Buchanan, is too striking to require illustration.

But though, in the above respects, the opinions of Major were more free and rational than those generally entertained at that time, it must be confessed that the portion of instruction which his scholars could derive from him was extremely small, if we allow his publications to be a fair specimen of his academical prelections. Many of the questions, which he discusses, are utterly useless and trifling; the rest are rendered disgusting by the most servile adherence to all the minutiae of the scholastic mode of reasoning. The reader of his works must be contented with painfully picking a grain of truth from the rubbish of many pages; nor will the drudgery be compensated by those discoveries

which about this time began to prevail in France. After struggling for nearly two years against the

of inventive genius and acute discrimination, for which the writings of Aquinas, and some others of that subtle school, may still deserve to be consulted. Major is entitled to praise, for exposing to his countrymen several of the more glaring errors and abuses of his time; but his mind was deeply tinctured with superstition, and he defended some of the absurdest tenets of popery by the most ridiculous and puerile arguments. And can Buchanan, then, be censured for having applied to him the

—*solo cognomine Major,*

which with mock modesty he had previously, in a Dedicatory Epistle, applied to himself? His talents, indeed, were extremely moderate. With the writings of the ancients he appears to have been acquainted only through the medium of the collectors of the middle ages; nor does he ever hazard an opinion, or pursue a speculation, beyond the limits which had been marked out by some approved doctor of the church. Add to this, that his style is to an uncommon degree harsh and forbidding; *exile, aridum, conscisum, ac minutum.*

‘Knox and Buchanan soon became disgusted with such studies, and began to seek entertainment more gratifying to their ardent and inquisitive minds. Having set out in search of knowledge, they released themselves from the trammels, and overleaped the boundaries, prescribed to them by their timid conductor. Each following the native bent of his genius and inclination, they separated in the prosecution of their studies: Buchanan, indulging in a more excursive range, explored the extensive fields of literature, and wandered in the flowery mead of poesy; while Knox, passing through the avenues of secular learning, devoted himself to the study of divine truth, and the labours of the sacred ministry. Both, however, kept uniformly in view the advancement of true religion and liberty, with the love of which they were equally smitten; and as during their lives they suffered a long and painful exile, and were exposed to many dangers, for adherence to this kindred cause; so their memories have not been divided, in the profuse but honourable obloquy with which they have been aspersed by its enemies, and in the deserved and grateful recollections of its genuine friends.’ (*M’Crie’s Life of Knox.*)

miseries of indigent circumstances, his merit procured him admission into the College of St. Barbe, where he became Professor of Grammar, and thus acquired for three years a decent subsistence. At length one of his pupils, Gilbert Kennedy Earl of Cassilis, engaged him exclusively as his tutor and companion, and after spending five more years\* in France, they returned together to Scotland. The death of his noble pupil, in 1534, left him once more without a patron: but as he was preparing to revisit the Continent, James V. appointed him preceptor to his natural son James Stuart, afterward successively Prior of St. Andrew's, Earl of Murray, and (on the dethronement of Queen Mary) Regent of Scotland. His lasting partiality to this pupil in some measure explains the harshness of his invectives, as an historian, against that guilty Princess.

But his evil genius again interposed to thwart his fortune; for having written a satirical Latin poem, entitled '*Somnium*,' in which the irregularities of the Franciscan friars were severely animadverted upon, that pious fraternity in revenge accused him of atheism and heresy. This proof of their malice, however, only animated the poet to fresh invectives; and he was delighted to find in his royal patron an encourager of his design. A conspiracy against James V. was discovered about this time, and the Franciscans being suspected by his Majesty to have been privy to it, he commanded Buchanan to attack them again in Latin verse. He complied: but the composition was executed with a degree of ambiguity, which

\* During this connexion, he translated Linacer's '*Rudiments of English Grammar*' into Latin, and dedicated it to his young patron.

took off much of it's effect. The King, displeased at it's evasiveness, positively enjoined him to lash their vices without disguise or reserve. This gave occasion to his celebrated '*Franciscanus*.' All the religious orders in Scotland now took the alarm, and vowed destruction to the man, who had thus insolently exposed them to the derision of the profane; and James himself had the meanness to leave him to their mercy.\* Buchanan received private intelligence, that the Franciscans had a design upon his life, though of what nature, his friends could not exactly inform him: but it quickly appeared, that they intended to have him burnt as a heretic. He was even seized, in 1538, upon this accusation; but watching an opportunity while his keepers were asleep, he got out of his chamber-window, and made his escape into England. There finding that Henry VIII. had set on foot a persecution against both papists and heretics, who did not conform to the Six Articles, he proceeded to Paris in quest of a less perilous asylum; but unfortunately Cardinal Beaton, his bitter enemy, had previously reached that capital on an embassy from Scotland. He thought it most adviseable therefore to accept an invitation from Andreas Govea, a celebrated Portuguese Professor of Civil Law, who had been placed at the head of a college newly founded at Bourdeaux. Here Buchanan taught the classics, rhetoric, history, and poetry in the public schools for nearly three years; and here in compliance with the rules of the schools, which required a new fable from the Professors every year, he composed his

\* He says, in his own Life, *Betonium à rege pecuniâ vitam ejus mercari!* What an instance of royal ingratitude!

two tragedies, *Jephthes* and *Baptistes*, and his translations of the *Medea* and *Alcestis* of Euripides. Upon these occasions, instead of the trifling allegories usually furnished in the French Universities, by which the taste of their youth for rational entertainment had been vitiated, he introduced regular dramatic pieces founded on historical facts. Such an improvement could not escape the notice of the most eminent men in France, by whom, to the no small mortification of Beaton, it was highly approved. This haughty prelate wrote to the Archbishop of Bourdeaux, informing him that 'Buchanan was a professed heretic,' and requesting that he might be apprehended. But the letter falling into friendly hands, he was delivered from this snare. The death of the King of Scotland in 1542, and the circumstances consequent upon that event, contributed to divert the Cardinal's resentment.

The ensuing four years, it is believed, Buchanan spent in different parts of France, sometimes in the capital and sometimes in the provinces; cultivating an acquaintance with the scholars of that country, and assisting them occasionally in their lectures and other literary engagements. About 1544 he is supposed, with considerable probability, to have been connected with the celebrated Adrian Turnebus\* and

\* Turnbull. This gentleman was descended of an ancient Scottish family, so called from one of his ancestors having, probably, saved the life of King Robert Bruce by *turning* aside a wild *bull* running furiously to attack him. Scaliger pronounces him 'the greatest man of his time.' He died in 1565, in the fifty-third year of his age, so much regretted in the republic of Letters, that not fewer than five hundred epitaphs and elegies were published in his honour by his learned contemporaries.

Muretus was among the most eminent, as a philologist; so

Muretus, who taught the first and third classes respectively in the college of Cardinal Le Moine at Paris; and even for a while to have been domestic tutor to Michael Montagne, who has recorded the circumstance in his 'Essays.'

In 1546, his patron Govea being ordered home by the King of Portugal, and commanded to bring with him some men capable of teaching philosophy and classical learning in the University, which he had recently founded at Coïmbra, Buchanan embraced this opportunity of avoiding the meditated vengeance of Beatoun and his clergy.

As long as Govea lived, Buchanan and the other scholars, who had followed him to Coïmbra, met with all due encouragement; but after his death in 1548, the natural aversion of the Portuguese from foreigners overcame their desire of improvement. Buchanan's poem against the Franciscans, his eating meat in Lent, and his having contended in private conversation that 'St. Austin's doctrines \* were more fa-

that this triumvirate must have formed one of the brightest constellations in the literary hemisphere.

\* The words referred to occur in his '*De Doctrinâ Christianâ*,' xvi. 3. *Si præceptiva locutio est, aut flagitium aut facinus vetans, aut utilitatem aut beneficentiam jubens, non est figurata: si autem flagitium aut facinus videtur jubere, aut utilitatem aut beneficentiam vetare, figurata est.* 'Nisi manducaveritis,' inquit, 'carnem Filii. Hominis et sanguinem biberitis, non habebitis vitam in vobis'—*facinus vel flagitium videtur jubere. Figura est igitur, præcipiens passioni Domini esse communicandum, et suaviter atque utiliter recondendum in memoriâ quòd pro nobis caro ejus crucifixa et vulnerata sit.*

The above account is taken from Principal Smeton's '*Responsio ad Hamiltonii Dialogum*,' as obviously preferable to the statement of his adversary; who commends the *Hispanorum nunquam satis laudatam in examinandis hæreticis severitatem*,

ourable to the Reformed than to the Romish religion,' were made the grounds of an accusation of heresy; in consequence of which, he was seized in 1549, and confined for a year and a half in the dungeons of the Inquisition. Thence however, upon his acquittal, with the hope of converting a man of his high reputation, he was removed to a monastery, to be instructed in the Catholic mysteries by the monks, who (as it appears from his own statement) treated him with great civility. It was during this confinement, that he translated the Psalms of David into Latin verse; a work, which of itself would have entitled him to immortality.\*

stigmatises the *impurus et procax pasquillus* (the '*Franciscanus*') as having clearly not originated in a royal mind, and exults over the recantation with which, as he asserts, the *levis poeta et abjuratus hæreticus* endeavoured to deprecate the Cardinal's resentment. (*Calvin. Conf. Demonstratio.*)

But it was not Hamilton alone, by whom Buchanan was calumniated. Laing, in his '*Life of Calvin*,' calls the translator of the Psalms *homo sacrarum literarum imperitissimus, simulque impudentissimus*; and, amidst his other alleged impieties, affirms *illum miserrimum hominem quondam in sacro fonte, quo infantes aquâ benedictâ ablui solent (adsit reverentia dictis!) oletum fecisse!*

\* It's Dedication to Mary Queen of Scots, which has been justly admired, is here subjoined:

*Nympha, Caledoniæ quæ nunc feliciter oræ  
Missa per innumeros sceptrâ tueris avos;  
Quæ sortem antevenis meritis, virtutibus annos,  
Sexum animis, morum nobilitate genus:  
Accipe (sed facilis) cultu donata Latino  
Carmina, fatidici nobile regis opus.  
Illa quidem, Cyrrhâ procul et Permesside lymphâ,  
Penè sub Arctôi sidere nata poli.  
Non tamen ausus eram malè natum exponere fœtum,  
Ne mihi displiceant quæ placuêre tibi.  
Nam, quod ab ingenio domini sperare nequibant,  
Debebunt genio forsitan illa tuo.*



In 1551, through the interest of some of his pupils, he was set at liberty; and to indemnify him for his sufferings, the King supplied him with money for his current expenses, and promised him preferment. But Buchanan, placing no reliance upon Portuguese faith, embarked on board a Cretan vessel in the harbour of Lisbon, then taking in a cargo for London, and landed in England. The confusion however, which prevailed in the councils of Edward VI. during his minority, not seeming to promise any encouragement to literature, he returned to France in the following year.

IMITATED.

Nymph, sprung from countless kings, whose happy sway  
Old Caledonia's hardy sons obey!  
Whose worth thy years, thy rank whose powers o'erpass,  
Thy sex whose spirit, and whose wit thy race:  
Accept, propitious, from a Latian tongue,  
Strains, which of yore Judaea's monarch sung—  
Born from Castalia's spring and Cyrrha far,  
Beneath the chill breath of the northern star;  
Yet would I not expose these hapless lays,  
Or doom to perish what 'twas thine to praise:  
Destined perchance from thy bright smile to gain,  
What from their master they might hope in vain. F. W.

Of the Psalms, his CIV. in hexameters has been particularly applauded, and I am only restrained by a consideration of its length from presenting it to the classical reader. This Psalm has received Latin versions from nine Scottish poets, eight of which were printed at Edinburgh with the 'Poetic Duel' of Dr. George Eglishem and Buchanan, in 1699. The former accused his competitor of bad Latin, and bad poetry, in his translation. The '*Consilium Collegii Medici Parisiensis de Mania G. Eglishemii*,' prefixed to the 'Poetic Duel,' is worth perusing for its pleasantry. The ninth, by the celebrated Dr. Pitcairne, was published under the name of Walter Daniston. A beautiful version of it, likewise, into English has been executed by Blacklock, a poet of the same nation.

He was now known throughout Europe for his great learning, more particularly for the elegance and correctness of his Latin poetry.\* The principal French nobility, therefore, thought it an honour to protect him. This gave him an opportunity of publishing his tragedies of *Alcestis*, and *Jephthes*, in the most advantageous manner. In his dedication of the latter to Charles de Cossi, Mareschal de Brisac, Buchanan pronounced so high an eulogium on the character of that great man,† that in 1555 he received from him an invitation to settle in Piedmont, with a handsome appointment, in quality of preceptor to his son Timoleon. He accepted the offer, and passed five years very agreeably with his pupil; employing his hours of leisure in the study of the Scriptures and polemical authors, with a view of forming his own opinion upon the religious controversies, which at this time agitated Christendom. He was, likewise, occasionally admitted to the Mareschal's secret councils.

Where he passed the two subsequent years, is uncertain: but about 1563 he returned to Scotland, where finding the Reformation in a great measure established, he openly declared himself a Protestant.

\* A specimen of this he had presented in 1539 to the Emperor Charles V., as he passed through Bourdeaux, in a small complimentary poem, copies of which had been dispersed in Spain and Germany by order of his Imperial Majesty. Scaliger, indeed, pronounced him *unum in totâ Europâ, omnes post se relinquentem in Latinâ poësi*: and this judgement his Elegies, Sylvæ, Hendecasyllables, Iambics, Epigrams, Miscellanies, and Books on the Sphæra, in addition to his works already recorded, abundantly justify.

† Beside two poems in his Miscellanies, *De Amore Cossæi et Aretes* and *Post captas Vercellas*, composed to his honour.

The reception, which he obtained from his countrymen, evinced that they were not incapable of estimating his merits; and the satisfaction with which he spent the remainder of his life among them, after he had enjoyed the society of the most learned men in Europe, is a sufficient proof, that they had made no inconsiderable advances in the acquisition of polite literature. That they were 'ignorant indeed of arts and civility, and corrupted (as Hume has slanderously affirmed of them) beyond their usual rusticity by a dismal fanaticism, which rendered them incapable of all humanity or improvement,' is an assertion, which argues either inexcusable ignorance or deplorable prejudice.\*

\* But the historian was content to slander even his own countrymen, as they were hostile at that time to his idolised Stuarts, though he almost unconsciously pleaded the cause of superstition by so doing, as they were hostile likewise in the highest degree to Popery. See M'Crie II. 17., and Not. E. 297. In the parliament which met in 1543, observes the same intelligent historian, individuals among the nobility and other laymembers discovered more knowledge of Greek, in a debate which occurred, than all the ecclesiastical bench. Foreign writers have been amused with information, stating many of the Scottish clergy to have affirmed, that 'Martin Luther had lately composed a wicked book called the *New Testament*; but that they, for their part, would adhere to the *Old*.' Ignorant however as they were, they were not more so than many on the Continent. A foreign Monk, declaiming one day in the pulpit against Lutherans and Zuinglians, said to his audience; "A new language was invented some time ago, called Greek, which has been the mother of all these heresies. A book is printed in this language, called the *New Testament*, which contains many dangerous things. Another language is now forming, the Hebrew: whoever learns it, immediately becomes a Jew!" No wonder, after this, that the Commissioners of the Senate of Lucern should have confiscated the works of Aristotle, Plato, and some

He was shortly afterward made Principal of St. Leonard's college, in the University of St. Andrew's, where he for some years taught philosophy;\* employing his occasional intervals of labour in collecting all his poems, except such as were in the hands of his friends, and of which he had no copies. In 1567 he was, though a layman, elected Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. He was, also, appointed by the states of the realm preceptor† to the young Prince James VI.; and when, it was afterward observed to him, that 'he had made his Majesty a pedant,' he is said to have replied, that 'it was the best he could make of him.'‡ When the civil dissensions broke out between Mary and her subjects, he joined the party in opposition to the Queen, and by the direction of his old pupil the Earl of Murray, then Regent of Scotland, composed under the title of 'The Detection' a work containing very severe reflexions upon her character and con-

of the Greek poets, which they found in the library of a friend of Zuinglius; concluding, that every book printed in that language must be infected with Lutheranism. (I. Von Muller's *Schw. Gesch.* in Hess' '*Life of Ulrich Zuingli.*') )

\* He appears, also, to have read divinity-lectures in this seminary; whence Rutherford, in his '*Lex Rex,*' calls him a "Doctor of Divinity," and Baillie, in his '*Historical Vindication,*' says "he had been a preacher at St. Andrew's."<sup>22</sup>

† In this important charge, he had the learned and accomplished Mr. Peter Young for his colleague. To enable Buchanan to discharge it more completely, he was very honourably permitted to nominate a successor to his literary functions at St. Andrew's, upon which occasion he named Patrick Adamson, afterward Archbishop of that see.

‡ Mackenzie relates a story of a hearty whipping, which Buchanan bestowed upon his royal pupil, for having persisted to disturb him while engaged in his private studies.

duct.\* For this his memory has been aspersed by such, as have undertaken the more than Herculean labour of exculpating that weak and wicked woman.

In 1568, Buchanan was chosen one of the Commissioners, who were sent to England to accuse Mary of having been privy to the murder of her husband Lord Darnley; and, upon his return, he had the revenues of the abbey of Cross Raguel (or Royal) assigned to him for life. He was also made Director of the Chancery, one of the Lords of the Council, and finally Lord Privy Seal. Beside all these promotions and emoluments, it is said, that Queen Elizabeth allowed him an annual pension of one hundred pounds.

The remaining thirteen years of his life he employed, chiefly, in literary pursuits. His two last performances were his '*De Jure Regni apud Scotos*,' dedicated to James VI. and published in 1579, and his '*History of Scotland*;' both of them by impartial judges esteemed masterly productions; but both, as favouring the principles of democratic government, condemned by the states of the realm. Upon the publication of the History,† indeed, he was cited before

\* Beside this, he also wrote an '*Admonition to the true Lords*;' in which he vindicates every thing done or said by himself, or his party, against the Queen. Yet he had been under great obligations to her Majesty, had celebrated her beauty and her merits in some of his poems, and had even composed an epithalamium upon her marriage with Francis II. His arguments were encountered by Adam Blackwood, in a Tract entitled, '*Apologia pro Regibus adversus G. Buchanani Dialogum de Jure Regni, &c.*'

† This work completely occupied his closing years, and nothing but the most resolute application could have enabled him to finish it; afflicted as he was with extreme ill health,

the Lords of the Privy Council, to answer for certain bold truths which it contained; but he died before the day appointed for his appearance. The King was, likewise, highly incensed at some passages unfavourable to the royal prerogative: which being communicated to Buchanan during his illness, he observed with stoical indifference, 'that his Majesty's anger gave him little or no concern, as he was going to a place where there were few kings.'

We are told likewise, that a short time before his death he called for his servant, inquired 'how much money he had belonging to him,' and finding it insufficient for his burial (for his most honourable and lucrative appointments he had only attained at the close of life), ordered him to distribute it among the poor. Upon which the servant desired to know, 'who in that case would defray the expense of his funeral.' To this, Buchanan replied, 'he was very indifferent: if they refused to bury him, they might let him lie where he was, or throw his corpse wherever they pleased.' And persisting in his resolution, the magistracy of Edinburgh were obliged to inter him at the public charge.

He died September 5, 1582, in the seventy-sixth year of his age.\*

labouring under the advances of old age, and continually interrupted by the indispensable duties of the King's education. He survived it's publication scarcely a single month. Though no one however, since the days of Livy and Sallust, has written history with more chastised taste, or perhaps with greater purity of stile, not only his enemies universally complain of his partiality, but even they who profess the utmost tenderness for his fame are sometimes inclined to question his veracity, and still oftener to censure his want of moderation.

\* An obelisk, a hundred feet high, was erected in 1788 on

With regard to his person, Buchanan is said to have been slovenly in his dress, and almost to have bordered upon rusticity in his manners and appearance. The character of his countenance, as his remaining portraits testify, was manly, but austere. He possessed a peculiar faculty of illustrating every subject by lively anecdotes, and short moral examples; and what his knowledge and recollection failed to suggest upon any topic, his invention instantly supplied. He has been too truly reproached with vindictiveness and ingratitude. These seem, however, to have been not characteristic qualities, but occasional failures of his nobler nature, arising from too violent an attachment to party, and too devoted an affection to individuals. From the same source, likewise, may probably be derived that easiness of belief, to which he too frequently resigned his better judgement. His freedom from solitudes relative to fortune, and his indifference to outward and accidental circumstances, gained him, with some, the reputation of a Stoic: but as a state of mind undisturbed by the vicissitudes of life, and a disposition to forbear all anxious "thoughts for the morrow," are enjoined by One greater than Zeno, let us not forget his claims to a higher title; nor unjustly place in the niche of an Athenian portico a figure, which claims no inferior station in the Christian temple.

Of his writings Bishop Burnet pronounces, that there appear in them "not only all the beauty and graces of the Latin tongue, but a vigour of mind

the Leven to his memory. The expense was defrayed by a subscription, originally suggested, and principally collected, by the late Professor Anderson.

and quickness of thought far beyond Bembo, or the other Italians, who at that time affected to revive the purity of the Roman stile. It was but a feeble imitation of Tully in them; but his stile is so natural and nervous, and his reflexions on things so solid (beside his immortal poems, in which he shows how well he could imitate all the Roman poets, in their several ways of writing) that he is justly reckoned the greatest and best of our modern authors."

Thuanus says that 'Buchanan, being old, began to write the history of his own country; and although, according to the genius of his nation, he sometimes inveighs against crowned heads with severity, yet that work is written with so much purity, wit, and judgement, that it does not appear to be the production of a man who had passed his days in the dust of a school, but of one who has been all his life-time conversant in the most important affairs of state. Such was the greatness of his mind, and the felicity of his genius, that the meanness of his condition and fortune has not hindered him from estimating rightly things of the highest moment, or from writing concerning them with considerable propriety.'

Dr. Robertson remarks, that "the happy genius of Buchanan, equally formed to excel in prose and in verse, more various, more original, and more elegant than that of almost any other modern who has written in Latin, reflects with regard to this particular the greatest lustre on his country." In respect to his 'History,' the same writer observes, "if his accuracy and impartiality had been in any degree equal to the elegance of his taste, and to the purity and vigour of his stile, it might be placed on a level with the most admired compositions of the ancients."



But, instead of rejecting the improbable tales of chronicle-writers, he was at the utmost pains to adorn them, and has clothed with all the beauties and graces of fiction those legends, which formerly had only it's wildness and extravagance."

His poetical character stands extremely high; not, however, so much on account of his sublimity or his imagination, as for the splendor of his diction, and the harmony and variety of his versification. The shackles of a foreign language, indeed, but too constantly act as an insuperable check upon the free exertion of the noblest poetical powers. His 'Psalms' are in almost every kind of measure, and some of them exquisitely beautiful. In his Tragedies, he is charged with having descended too nearly to the comic strain. His didactic poem on 'the Sphere' is elegant, but unequal. His Odes, Elegies, Epigrams, Satires, and other miscellaneous pieces, though not without many defects, evince extreme facility in the use of language, and an inexhaustible vein of poetical expression.

His moral character has been made a subject of bitter obloquy by his enemies, nor does it seem to have been adequately defended by his friends. The charge of early licentiousness is apparently supported by the tenor of several of his poems; though the argument will be far from conclusive with those, who remember, and admit, Martial's apology for the occasional levities of his youthful pen.\* Like many other scholars of the time, he was querulous; discontented (not, indeed, without some reason) with his circumstances, and by no means delicate in his endeavours

\* *Lasciva est nobis pagina, vita proba.*

to amend them. In temper, he appears to have been harsh and unamiable; and as a party-man, virulent and unscrupulous. Yet the independence of a great mind frequently displays itself in his conduct; nor is there just reason to believe, that he did not radically approve the public principles, which he espoused.

Upon the whole, Buchanan will always be mentioned as one of the great honours of his country; a man whose genius, in the midst of penury and discouragement, broke out with a lustre which has secured him immortal fame.

All the world knows, says Camden in his 'Annals of Elizabeth,' at the beginning of 1587, what Buchanan has published of Mary both in his 'History,' and in his 'Detection.' But as he was influenced by zeal for a party, and bribed by the Earl of Murray, the parliament of Scotland, which is more credible than he, condemned his books as false; and he himself, in the presence of his royal pupil often suffered condemnation (as I have been told) for having written in so inveterate a manner against a queen, to whom he had obligations. Being at the point of death, he repentantly wished to live a little longer, till he had effaced the stains which his slander had caused, by speaking the truth, and even by shedding his blood: unless (as he himself said) these were 'idle words, as he seemed to be in a dotage occasioned by his age.'

It should be remarked, however, that Camden published in the reign of James VI, the first part of the above work, which goes down to the year 1589; and that he did not, therefore, feel himself at liberty to speak his sentiments without reserve. He was even directed by the new Sovereign to vindicate Mary's memory. It was James' natural in-

terest, indeed, to wish that all the ill, which had been circulated concerning his mother, might be for ever forgotten. But another reason sufficient to account for Buchanan's unpopularity with his royal pupil, without giving the latter credit for any very signal piety, may be found in that Treatise of his, which was written expressly to prove the kings of Scotland subject to the laws. This doctrine, seldom agreeable to princes, who are not sufficiently acquainted with their true interests, had in James VI. a sworn enemy. Hence, the way to make court to that Prince was, to speak ill of his ancient tutor; and hence, what his dependents say of Buchanan may be justly regarded as, at least, problematical.

As to the rumour of 'his repentance,' it probably originated with the King himself, or with some of his courtiers: or it might be a mere misrepresentation, founded upon an accidental coolness between him and some of Mary's opposers. Assuredly, his last books, especially those passages which are principally directed against that wretched queen, show no signs of 'dotage;' or his dotage is more valuable than all the judgement of Elizabeth's historian.

All Europe, indeed, was convinced of Buchanan's sincerity; and (to give him the highest praise) Thuanus himself, in his History, did not scruple to copy from him his entire narrative of Scottish transactions.\*

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\* Camden indeed informed the French writer, that 'he had been misled by his authority;' but if the matter be more distinctly considered, may it not be inferred, that upon this occasion Camden acted like a good subject, but a bad historian?

As Dr. Johnson pronounced Buchanan's ~~alcaic~~ ode, entitled *Calendæ Maiæ*, (Miscell. xi.) "one of the happiest of his poetical compositions," in which praise Dr. Hugh Blair, as appears from his letter to Mr. Boswell,\* concurred; it is here subjoined, with a translation.

There is extant a letter from Thuanus to Camden, in which after thanking him for some remarks on the beginning of his History, he begs his advice on the detail of Scottish affairs in 1561, as that part of his work was then in the press. It must be observed, that Mary's disputes with Elizabeth began in a great measure after that year. Camden however was, it seems, not at leisure to reply; or his reply arrived too late: as two other letters of Thuanus prove, that the History underwent no alteration on that account. 'He could have wished,' he states, 'that Camden had sent him an abstract of what passed in England at the time of which he had written the narrative.' "By these means (he proceeds) in following your steps, I could more easily have exercised the moderation, which some persons perhaps will wish I had observed in regard to Scotland; and I should not have offended the great men of your country, which I would gladly have avoided. But having no one to consult except Buchanan, I was obliged to take from him the sequel of that tragical story, which others, who were by no means Protestants, had before approved; and I have avoided all kinds of invectives. I am afraid, however, that the bare mention of that shameful murder (of Mary's husband) may offend those, who are so enraged at Buchanan. In short, princes should be convinced, that if they believe it allowable for them to act as they please, it is also allowable for all the world to speak and to write with freedom of their actions."

Thuanus was in the right; and it is on record that, when Dr. Burnet mentioned Mary to his own Queen (Mary II. of England) while she was only Princess of Orange, and added, that 'a certain Roman Catholic historian had spoken to her disadvantage,' she replied, 'if princes would not be blamed, they ought not to commit actions that were blamable.'

\* 'Tour to the Hebrides,' 410.

*Salvete sacris deliciis sacræ  
Maia Calendæ, lætitiæ et mero  
Ludisque dicatæ jocisque,  
Et teneris Charitum choreis,*

*Salve voluptas et nitidum decus  
Anni recurrens perpetuâ vice,  
Et flos renascentis juventæ,  
In senium properantis ævi.*

*Cùm blanda veris temperies novo  
Illuxit orbi, primaque sæcula  
Fulsère flaveri metallo,  
Sponte suâ sine lege justa :*

*Talis per omnes continuus tenor  
Annos tepenti rura Favonio  
Mulcebat, et nullis feraces  
Seminibus recreabat agros,*

*Talis beatas incubat insulis  
Felicis auræ perpetuus tepor,  
Et nesciis campis senectæ  
Difficilis querulique morbi.*

*Talis silentum per tacitum nemus  
Lævi susurrat murmure spiritus,  
Lethenque juxta obliuiosam  
Funereas agitat cupressus.*

*Forsan supernis cùm Deus ignibus  
Piabit orbem, lætaque sæcula  
Mundo reducet, talis aura  
Æthereos animos fovebit.*

*Salve, fugacis gloria sæculi,  
Salve secundâ digna dies notâ,  
Salve vetustæ vitæ imago,  
Et specimen venientis ævi.*

IMITATED.

Hail! sacred thou to hallow'd joy,  
To mirth and wine, sweet First of May!  
To sports, which no grave cares alloy,  
The sprightly dance, the festive play!

Hail! thou, of aye-returning time  
 That gracest still the ceaseless flow!  
 Bright blossom of the season's prime,  
 Aye-hastening on to winter's snow!

When first young Spring his angel face  
 On earth unveil'd, and years of gold  
 Gilt with pure ray man's virtuous race,  
 By law's stern terrors uncontroll'd:

Such was the soft and genial breeze,  
 Mild Zephyr breathed on all around;  
 With grateful glee, to airs like these  
 Yielded it's wealth th' unlabour'd ground.

So fresh, so fragrant is the gale,  
 Which o'er the islands of the Blest  
 Sweeps; where nor aches the limbs assail,  
 Nor age's peevish pains infest.

O'er hush'd Elysium's noiseless spray,  
 Such winds with whisper'd murmurs blow;  
 So, where dull Lethe's waters stray,  
 Heave, hardly heave the cypress-bough.

And such, when heaven with penal flame  
 Shall purge the globe, that golden day  
 Restoring, o'er man's brighten'd frame  
 Haply such gale again shall play.

Hail! thou, the fleet year's pride and prime!  
 Hail! day, which Fame should bid to bloom!  
 Hail! image of primeval time!  
 Hail! sample of a world to come!

F. W.

Most of his pieces have been frequently given to the public in a separate state: and a complete edition of his works was published at Edinburgh, in two volumes folio, in 1704, and reprinted at Leyden in two volumes quarto, in 1725.

For the classical reader I insert part of his fine eulogium on the Scottish nation, which notwithstanding

ing the powerful panegyrics of Walter Scot, may still be pronounced unequalled. It is extracted from his ‘*Francisci Valesii et Mariæ Stuartæ, Regum Franciæ et Scotiæ, Epithalamium.*’

*Illa pharetratis est propria gloria Scotis,  
Cingere venatu saltus, superare natando  
Flumina, ferre famem, contemnere frigora et æstus;  
Nec fossâ et muris patriam, sed Marte tueri,  
Et spretâ incolumem vitâ defendere famam;  
Polliciti servare fidem, sanctumque vereri  
Numen amicitiae, mores non munus amare.*

*Artibus his, totum fremerent cùm bella per orbem,  
Nullaque non leges tellus mutaret avitas  
Externo subjecta jugo, gens una vetustis  
Sedibus antiquâ sub libertate resedit.  
Substitit hîc Gothi furor, hîc gravis impetus hæsit  
Saxonis, hîc Cimber superato Saxone, et acri  
Perdomito Neuster Cimbro. Si volvere priuscos  
Non piget annales, hîc et Victoria fixit  
Præcipitem Romana gradum: quem non gravis Auster  
Reppulit, incultis non squallens Parthia campis,  
Non æstu Merœe, non frigore Rhenus et Albis  
Tardavit, Latium remorata est Scotia cursum, &c. &c.*

IMITATED.

This, quiver'd Caledonian, be thy fame—  
From the deep glen to rouse the woodland game;  
The rapid flood to cleave; with noble scorn  
Heat, cold, and hunger's fierce extremes to spurn;  
Thine own blue mountains in the tented field,  
Not with base walls, but martial breast to shield;  
Careless of life, when glory courts thy view;  
To faith's pure pledge, to unbought friendship true.

By arts like these, when war the wide world shook,  
And not a realm escaped the victor's yoke;  
One race alone, in ancient freedom blest,  
Dash'd back th' invader's weapon from it's breast,  
Here paused the furious Goth, the Saxon here;  
Here idly whizz'd the Dane's, the Norman's spear:

Here, if time's mustier annals be survey'd,  
His restless wing the Roman eagle stay'd.  
He, whom nor arid Lybia's drought repress'd,  
Nor Parthian wastes in dreariest livery dress'd;  
Not Meröe's heat, not ice-bound Elbe or Rhine—  
Quail'd, Scotia, as he met that patriot glance of thine.

F. W.

His History of Scotland has even been read, in  
the schools of that kingdom, as a Latin classic.

END OF VOL. I.

